

178124

JPRS 83285

18 April 1983

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 412

19990507 099

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18 April 1983

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'GUOJI WENTI YANJIU' ON AMERICAN NEO-ISOLATIONISM

HK282330 Beijing GUOJI WENTI YANJIU in Chinese No 1, Jan 83 pp 32-38

[Article by Zhao Jihua [6392 4469 5478]: "On American Neo-Isolationism"]

[Text] After several years of silence, the ideological trend of American neo-isolationism has recently emerged once again and is tending to continue to grow.

In Congress, a number of senators and representatives of the House of Representatives headed by Stevens strongly demanded that the United States pull out its troops from Western Europe. Not long ago, the defense appropriations committee of the Senate decided by a 12:1 vote to freeze the number of American troops stationed in Western Europe at the level of 1980. This constituted an important "signal" of the movement of neo-isolationism which is brewing. Although the Reagan administration has stated time and again that Europe is the "first front line of the United States" and the United States does "not intend to make any troop withdrawal," to reassure the public of Western Europe, the defense policy of the Reagan administration itself contains some factors of neo-isolationism. It is not strange that some people in the United States and Western Europe have begun to cry out in alarm that "neo-isolationism is gaining ground" and the strategic foundation of the Western alliance "may possibly collapse."

The rise of the ideological trend of neo-isolationism with the withdrawal of troops from Europe as its main slogan is not accidental. This article attempts to make some explanations concerning the characteristics, roots and prospects of development of neo-isolationism on the basis of the present date in our hands.

#### I

Isolationism is a policy proposition, a trend of thought and sometimes even a feeling which has for quite some time existed in the history of American diplomacy. In the 200-odd years since the founding of the United States, it has existed in a continuous and up-and-down manner and, with the changes in the conditions of the times, it has raised different slogans and propositions at different stages. Now it constitutes the mainstream of policy, and then it

constitutes the substream of policy or even an undercurrent. In the history of American diplomacy, there have existed "doctrines" and "theories" with a diversity of brands and names, but most of them were only the symbols of a certain historical stage; in the history of world diplomacy, some nations carried out isolationist policies at a certain period (for example, the policies of Great Britain in the 19th century toward the continent of Europe). However, isolationism in the United States has been continuing for a long time and has become a traditional trend of thought. This state of affairs is a quite unique phenomenon.

The question of isolationism is also one of the questions apt to evoke controversies in the diplomacy of the United States. It very often emerges in the policy debate among the ruling groups resulting from the worsening of all kinds of contradictions at home and abroad and constitutes one side of the debate. Meanwhile, the definition and concept of isolationism itself is vague, changeable and highly relative, so it has also become a question inviting endless debate for a long time among history circles. The word "isolationism" cannot indeed entirely reflect the contents of this ideological trend and proposition, and it is prone to make people misunderstand it as "being completely cut off the outside world," and "closing the country to international intercourse" and even as being exclusive to "foreign expansion," and as a result, some people constantly and fundamentally negate the existence of isolationism on the ground of the expansionist nature of imperialism. In addition, the word "isolationism" is a label used chiefly by those who oppose it, and is therefore obviously derogatory in meaning and this very often leads, in the debate, to a situation in which "those who take the offensive say that isolationism exists while those who take the defensive say that it does not." Since World War II, it has increasingly become a weapon which party groupings in the United States use to attack one another and as a result, its meaning has become even more confused. This adds a lot of difficulties to the probing of the question of isolationism.

It must be said that American isolationism as a policy proposition does actually exist, no matter what name it is crowned with. While studying it, main attention should be paid to its real contents. To put it briefly, American isolationism is a policy pursued by the United States in its foreign affairs in a unique geographical situation in which the Atlantic and the Pacific separate the Western hemisphere from the rest of the world's continents, a policy the United States pursues in the form of avoiding forming an alliance, "going it alone" and "being neutral" and reducing the burden of overseas commitments to safeguard and expand its own interests. It is not "cut off the outside world," does not aim at no "expansion," and still less is it opposed to economic and cultural exchanges. It is in reality a means by which the American ruling groups pursue their expansionist policies abroad under certain circumstances. American isolationism originated from the European policy of the United States, during the early days around the American war of independence, and formally came into being at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, a time when the United States entered the stage of imperialism. In the 1920's and 30's, between the two world wars, isolationism reached its climax, that is, the so-called stage of "old isolationism." Since World War II, under new historical conditions, the trend of thought which exists overtly and covertly and is both related to and different from traditional isolationism is called "neo-isolationism."

## II

In order to explain the question of isolationism, it is necessary to briefly review the origin of neo-isolationism.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the United States entered the stage of imperialism. The American economy had surpassed the economies of the old-style imperialist countries, such as Britain and France, but the United States lagged far behind them militarily. In the new situation, two opposing groupings gradually took shape within the American ruling group. One grouping was called "internationalists," who held that since the situation was already different from that in the 19th century, the United States should break away from being "isolated" and take more interest in global affairs; in the meantime, in order to contend for world domination with other powers, the United States should gain the mastery of the seas. The other grouping insisted on the diplomatic principles which the United States carried out in the early days after it gained independence: Avoiding forming an "excessively tangled" alliance relationship with European powers, and avoiding getting involved in the disputes in Europe, so as to safeguard the "freedom of action" of the United States. In the controversy, the former called the latter "isolationists." The word "isolationism" then came into existence in the arena of American diplomacy.

In the period between the two world wars, this isolationism steadily developed and even occupied a leading position for some time. At that time, the isolationists opposed the entry of the United States into the League of Nations, which was under the control of Britain and France, and advocated "unilateralism" characterized by "cooperation but not undertaking any commitments," that is, acting independently outside the League of Nations and contending with Britain and France and at the same time, tending to get still more involved in Asian affairs and to counter Japan in the Far East. When the German, Italian and Japanese fascists went on stage and the balance of force among the powers was thrown to the winds and the United States was gravely menaced on both sides of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the isolationists insisted on sticking to "neutrality" and "non-interference" and opposed giving assistance to Britain, hoping that there would be an open fight between fascist Germany and the communist Soviet Union; they advocated adopting a policy of appeasement toward fascism. This policy proposition found expression in a concentrated way in a series of "laws of neutrality" formulated by Congress, which banned the delivery of arms and ammunition to belligerents in name but helped the aggressors in reality. This kind of isolationism formed such a big current that it restricted, to the maximum extent, President Roosevelt, an internationalist, when he was in power and he had to go with the current of this ideological trend and pursue the "doctrine of non-interference." It was only after France fell into enemy hands in 1940 and after people realized that the interests of the United States itself were seriously threatened and that the isolationism which clung to the foreign policy of the 19th century was completely divorced from reality that there was an obvious change in public opinion in the United States. Making the best use of the situation, Roosevelt adopted a series of measures for accelerating the establishment of an alliance between the United States and other anti-fascist countries and as



a result, isolationism kept on retreating. Finally, the Pearl Harbor incident involved the United States in the war and also proclaimed the failure of isolationism.

Practice has proven that the core of the old isolationist ideological trend in the 1920's and 30's was to avoid forming an alliance with the European powers and involvement in the wars among them and to maintain freedom of action. The controversy between the notion of "being neutral" and "going it alone" of the isolationists and that of "collective security" of the internationalists lay, in essence, over which way expansion could best serve the interests of the United States, rather than whether or not "expansion" should be carried out. History has proven that this kind of isolationism was far divorced from the international reality of that time and could not safeguard the security of the United States on the one hand while doing harm to the world's anti-fascist struggle on the other.

At that time the old isolationist ideological trend was widespread all over the country, but the forces of the isolationists were concentrated in the midwest and the vast farming and pastoral areas ranging from the Appalachians to the Rocky Mountains. The prominent isolationists in Congress, such as Senators Ne, Borah, Taft and Vandenberg, all came from these areas. The headquarters of the "America First Committee" of the isolationists was located in Chicago; this organization was far-famed for a time. In terms of race, many isolationists were of German or Irish descent and they had pro-German or anti-British feelings. In terms of party groupings, most of them were Republicans. Their ideas reflected the economic demands of the capitalists of the farm processing industry and the farm machinery industry and of the ranchers in the midwest. As opposed to the eastern monopoly groups who were geared to Europe, their economic interests at that time were mainly at home and in the Americas and Asia and they had fewer relations with Europe (some had certain economic interests in Germany).

In addition to the factors of the above-mentioned economic interests, the following factors also served as reasons why the old isolationist ideological trend at that time could form an immense momentum. 1) The serious economic crises in the 1920's and 30's made the American people tend to be "inward looking." Many people held that the domestic situation which was in an awful mess should be first put in order, and less care should be taken of the affairs of other countries. 2) The people widely acknowledged that the United States lost more than it gained in its participation in World War I. The midwest financial groups blamed the eastern financial groups for carrying out unilateral arms trade with the entente countries, which led the United States into the war in Europe. Therefore, prior to World War II, in the United States there was strong feeling against involvement in another European war and to maintain neutrality. 3) Making use of the foreign policies formulated by Washington and Jefferson, founders of the United States, the isolationists advanced slogans such as "defend the American way of life," "freedom of action" and "self-sufficiency" as their own theoretical bases, which had great appeal.

### III

After World War II, a fundamental change took place in the international situation. U.S. imperialism mounted the throne of overlord of world capitalism with its economic, political and military strength swiftly spreading to every corner of the world. Going contrary to its previous tradition, together with West European countries, the United States first established the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This was the first military alliance the United States ever concluded with countries outside the Western hemisphere in peace time. In the following 2 decades, the United States successively formed military alliances with more than 40 countries. Its military bases spread all over the world. In this historical period, the so-called "internationalism" of American diplomacy went to extremes and developed into the "doctrine of global interference." The disastrous defeat in its aggressive war against Vietnam showed that U.S. imperialism had declined from its peak strength and had become defensive from being offensive. Therefore, since the 1970's, the United States has had to carry out a strategic readjustment. However, there have been little changes in the alliance system which took shape after World War II. The United States, this superpower, still insists that it should play a dominating role in the whole world and tries its best to regain its past monopoly position. So we say that American governments ranging from the Truman administration to the Reagan administration pursued and are pursuing the doctrine of global interference. This is the mainstream of postwar American foreign policy.

Against this historical background, the neo-isolationism that appeared after World War II has always constituted a subcurrent in the United States. Taking the situation as a whole, isolationism in the postwar period has appeared three times in a fairly concentrated way. There emerged a minor high tide at the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's. A major high tide took shape between the mid-1960's and the mid-70's; and another high tide arose in the early 1980's. The backgrounds in which the first high tide and the latter two high tides were vastly different, since the times when they occurred were far apart. The latter two high tides took place in the same historical stage, and they shared continuity.

1) The first minor high tide occurred during the period of the beginning of the cold war. When the setbacks of U.S. imperialism's policies of aggression against China and its war of aggression against Korea led to the great debate on American foreign policy, a number of republican old isolationists (such as Senators Taft and Knowland and former President Hoover) made use of this opportunity and vigorously attacked the faults of the democrat government. The difference in policy between the two parties was in fact not wide. The focus of the controversy has the question of the size of foreign military and economic aid, and not the question of the necessity of this aid. By that time--and this was different from the prewar period--the isolationists also held that it was necessary to render aid to Western Europe and agreed to the establishment of NATO to check the Soviet Union. However, they still worried that this military alliance might bind the United States hand and foot and cause an economic burden to the United States, and therefore they insisted on limiting the number of American troops stationed in Europe. Both parties

agreed to the launching of the war of aggression against Korea, but the isolationists still displayed their traditional tendency of "putting one-sided stress on Asia to the neglect of Europe" and insisted on more interference in Asia. In terms of strategic stance, some isolationists even advanced the slogan of "defending the democratic island states" (that is, the American defense line should embrace Britain in the Atlantic and Japan, China's Taiwan Province, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand in the Pacific) and maintained that the United States should rely on "sea and air supremacy" to avoid involvement in a continental land war. They paid more attention to "self-sufficiency" in defence matters in the Western hemisphere and in the Atlantic and the Pacific, and attached little importance to the role of alliances.

Judged from the background of its leading exponents and their slogans and regions, this neo-isolationism can be said to be the "last radiance of the setting sun" of the prewar isolationists in a new period, and it was distinctively characterized by the struggle of party groupings in which the old republican isolationists retaliated against the democrat internationalists. Round about 1954, with the successive departure of this batch of leading exponents from the political arena, their influence almost disappeared from the scene.

2) The period ranging from the mid-1960's to the mid-1970's was a period in which the United States got bogged down in the war of aggression against Vietnam and suffered disastrous defeat there and also a period in which a major change began to take place in the strategic structure of the whole world. The Soviet and American hegemonists were scrambling for world domination. The relative strength of the two developed in a direction unfavorable for the United States, and the United States ultimately lost its nuclear superiority; in the meantime, the actual strength of Western Europe and Japan was on the rise, and there was an important change in the relative strength between them and the United States. Global interference, like old isolationism, suffered setbacks while going to the extreme, because it had become divorced from the objective reality of the world and went contrary to historical trends. How to readjust American global strategy and diplomacy to suit the new historical conditions became one of the points at issue within the American ruling group in this period.

The United States should readjust its battle line and withdraw from Indochina. There was an identical understanding of this point within the ruling group opinions varied and controversies sharpened on the question of the degree and means of involvement which the United States should, in the future, pursue all over the world. The then mainstream advocates of internationalism who were in power were opposed to the United States abandoning its overseas deputies and alliance relationships, and maintained the basic posture and practices of the doctrine of global interference. The neo-isolationists vigorously attacked the various kinds of evil consequences resulting from the doctrine of global interference: The United States had stretched its hands too far and its ability was not equal to its ambition; it had carried out expansion in every corner of the world, set itself against national liberation, acted as "world policeman" and stirred up anti-American tides among all countries in the world; foreign aid and military expenses were excessive; and

domestically, the "democratic system" was sabotaged, and so on. They advocated that the extent of involvement abroad should be adjusted and the expansion methods should be changed so that American diplomatic objectives and means should suit each other. The majority of them had discarded the passive attitude which the old isolationists took toward American involvement abroad, and maintained that the United States should join international organizations and strengthen international cooperation. They insisted on relaxation of tension and styled themselves as opposing the use of violence and war. Some of them argued that intercontinental nuclear weapons had minimized the role of the alliance, and the formation of an alliance with Western Europe could make the United States risk the danger of being involved in a nuclear war, rather than necessarily bringing more security to the United States. There was still a tiny number of people with extreme views advocating so-called "strategic disengagement," the dissolution of all military alliances, the withdrawal of all troops stationed abroad and a return to the Western hemisphere. The leading exponents of this neo-isolationist ideological trend were a number of democratic "enlightened" senators, such as Fulbright, McGovern and Mansfield (although they still praised themselves as traditional internationalists), and a number of scholars, such as Professor Robert (Tark), author of the famous book "Neo-Isolationism: Threat or Hope? (Tark) openly styles himself as "neo-isolationist"). The propositions of the majority of them lay between the extreme propositions of the two extremes--old isolationism and the doctrine of global interference. Some people say that this neo-isolationism is closer to so-called "neo-internationalism," and there is some truth in that.

This neo-isolationism has rather vague and general opinions on policy principles and lacks concrete suggestions and slogans. The relatively concrete proposal which attracted the attention of the people was the motion put forth by Mansfield in the Senate in May 1971, which called for the withdrawal of half the number of American troops stationed in Europe, that is, the so-called "Mansfield doctrine." His main premises were that Europe had revived; the cold war had begun to ease; and Europe should take more responsibilities for the military expenses of NATO so as to reduce U.S. fiscal deficits. His proposal was rejected by a 36:61 vote. But it is said that since then there have always been about 40 senators favoring troop withdrawal from Europe. It can thus be said that the influence of this proposal should not be underestimated.

Mingled with the unprecedentedly mammoth antiwar and anti-aggression and expansion struggles, this neo-isolationism has grown in strength and formed a major high tide. It has a considerable influence on the policies of those who are in power but has still not become the mainstream. According to public opinion polls, American people of all social strata who were in favor of strengthening the alliance and defending Western Europe and Japan if necessary constituted 65 percent in 1964, and showed a decrease to 41 percent in 1974 and a pickup to 61 percent in 1980; and those who were completely against doing so increased from 8 percent to 21 percent and then decreased to 13 percent. This can show by and large the relative strength of the two ideological trends, and indicates that after reaching its climax in 1974, with the pullout of American troops from Vietnam and the Soviet endeavors to undermine the United States everywhere by making the best use of the situation, this neo-isolationism has considerably diminished.

The background of the neo-isolationist midwest financial groups is not as obvious as in previous instances, because since the mid-1950's, the trade relations between the midwest farming and pastoral areas and foreign countries (in particular, the trade with the Soviet Union in grain) have significantly increased and the feeling of isolationism has weakened as a result. This trend of thought is mainly a reflection of the requirements of the monopoly forces which have more economic interests abroad. In a new situation in which the national strength of the United States is waning with each passing day and it is besieged with internal and external difficulties, they insist on contending with the Soviet hegemonists through "detente" and the promotion of economic ties; it is also a reflection of the requirements of the traditional monopoly forces, which give priority to domestic markets. In the increasingly serious economic crises, they demand implementing protectionist economic policies, cutting the burden of arms and foreign aid, and running domestic affairs well so as to enhance the ability to compete abroad.

3) The neo-isolationist ideological trend since the early 1980's appeared in a situation in which the Reagan administration assumed power, tried to "restore the prestige of the country" and stepped up its efforts to contend world domination with the Soviet Union, and the contradictions between the United States and the West European countries became more acute. At present, this trend of thought is still in a state of just putting forward some concrete slogans, and does not yet have any systematic views and theories. It finds expression in congress in a concentrated way on the one hand and shows some sign of growth within the Reagan administration on the other. We say that the diplomacy of the Reagan administration is basically the doctrine of global interference and still maintains on the alliance policy, but this does exclude some of its foreign policies containing neo-isolationist factors or tints. Up to now, this neo-isolationism has had the following propositions and practices.

--Demanding the gradual withdrawal of American ground forces from Europe. This is the present most outstanding isolationist slogan. It is the continuation of the Mansfield doctrine and also a great development of this doctrine. It not only stems from consideration for easing economic burdens but also stresses political and military reasons. It holds that NATO strategy is outmoded and the deployment of American troops in Europe has become unnecessary. Therefore, the questions it involves are more profound. Those who take the lead in the present movement to withdraw troops from Europe are conservative republican congressmen, but the Reagan administration has clearly opposed any troop withdrawal. It must be pointed out here that those who cry out for troop withdrawal include quite a few people who use this to threaten and force the Western European countries to increase their military spending. This does not fall into the category of neo-isolationism, and a distinction should be made in this respect.

--Maintaining that the United States should declare that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. This means in reality withdrawing American theater nuclear weapons in Europe and discarding the forward defensive strategy, so as to reduce the danger of the United States being involved in European nuclear war. Therefore, although this proposition is aimed at

reforming NATO strategy, it implies to intention of gradually moving away from Europe. The Reagan administration has openly announced its opposition to this proposal, but it also holds that reliance on nuclear weapons should be reduced.

--Calling for partial movement of American troops from Europe to support more urgent crisis regions (such as the Persian Gulf), that is, the so-called "multidirectional option." This in reality holds that Europe is no longer the most dangerous region or a region of vital importance to the United States. This is one of the contents of the military strategy of the Reagan administration. It must be said that this also presents a tendency to belittle the role that Europe plays in the security of the United States, and is in step with traditional isolationist conceptions.

--Calling for a turn to the "naval superiority strategy" in military strategy in conjunction with the "multidirectional option," that is, laying stress on strengthening the navy and relying on the "sea and air superiority" of the United States to gain mastery of the seas in the Atlantic and Pacific and strike back where the Soviet forces are weak. The opposite of this proposition is the so called "joint defence strategy," which calls for continuing to rely on the allies and checking Soviet expansion on the peripheries of Europe and Asia. It is said that a controversy on this issue is going on within the Pentagon between two factions, and at present the latter view still holds the dominant position. The military strategy openly announced by Weinberger contains the propositions of both sides.

--Adopting so-called "unilateralist" practices in a tougher way against the allies and paying less heed to the opinions and interests of the allies. For example, disregarding the strong dissent of the allies, the Reagan administration is economically pursuing a high interest rate policy which seriously infringes upon the interests of Western Europe, and arbitrarily imposed sanctions on the West European allies for a time on the question of Soviet natural gas pipeline equipment.

--Appealing for the formation of a "North American community" of the United States, Canada and Mexico so as to strive for "self-sufficiency" in natural resources of the North American Continent. This is aimed at competing with the groups in other regions (including Europe and Japan) in a multipolar world in the future (when the status of the United States decreases to such an extent that it can no longer play a role worldwide). This view has a strong appeal to the American Congress, financial circles and the two parties, democrat and republican. Reagan took the "North American agreement" as his slogan while running for the presidency. This conception of preparing to tenaciously defend "fortress America" in the future and to contend with other forces in the world apparently bears the color of traditional isolationism.

To sum up the above-mentioned viewpoints, it can be seen that the characteristic of the present neo-isolationist ideological trend is that it centers on a key question in a more pronounced way, that is, how to handle the relationship with the European allies. It insists on reducing the containing role Europe plays for the United States and relaying step by step the alignment ties with Western Europe. This proposition can be called "global unilateralism."

Global unilateralism still upholds American global interests, and puts stress on resisting the Soviet Union on a global scale and on applying tough and hard military means. It is close to the doctrine of global interference in this respect, and differs considerably from the neo-isolationism which laid emphasis on "detente." However, what is more important is that global unilateralism stresses acting independently and underestimates the role of the alliance to a certain extent; and in terms of "drawing a line" in strategic matters and in view of the limited strength of the United States, it tends to give priority to the defence of the Atlantic and Pacific, and avoidance from being involved in ground wars in Europe and Asia. This and the past isolationist slogans, such as "non-alignment," "freedom of action" "sea and air superiority" and "self-sufficiency" form one continuous line.

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#### IV

Neo-isolationism and old isolationism have something in common in terms of ideological source. Their most basic common ground is that in regard to the question of means and ways of American expansion abroad, they both stand for utilizing the possibilities provided by the distinctively American geopolitical and economic conditions (the safe natural defense of the Atlantic and Pacific and abundant natural resources) to concentrate strength to run international affairs well, avoid being drawn into risky military alliance relationships and maintain "freedom of action." There are some common objective factors in the seeds of the old and neo-isolationist ideological trends, that is, in the rivalry for world domination, the United States has insufficient strength (or lacks strength) to be master of the situation; domestically there have emerged serious crises; the United States has suffered setbacks in its expansion abroad; and the contradictions between the groups with different economic interests have intensified.

Therefore, both old and neo-isolationism represent an ideological trend which falls into one category. However, it must also be noted that neo-isolationism has its own characteristics and we must not equate it with the contents and historical role of old isolationism in an oversimplified way. There is a vast difference between the two.

In terms of historical conditions, old isolationism appeared in a period when the actual strength of the United States was on the rise and it became gradually involved in world affairs. Its principle was to refuse to be drawn into an alliance relationship. Neo-isolationism arose in a period when the actual strength of the United States was declining from occupying a predominant position, and its general strategic posture was changing from offensive to defensive. Its principle was expressed in the tendency to gradually turn away from the existing alliance relationships and demand a readjustment of the posture and means of American global involvement.

In terms of content, old isolationism took so-called "internationalism" as its antithesis, while neo-isolationism is directed against the doctrine of global interference, and the majority of the people in this sector do not oppose American involvement in international affairs and entry into international

organizations, but they are opposed to the practice of putting military and economic strength into every corner of the world in an unrestricted way without paying attention to results, and call for changing the situation of "stretching hands everywhere" into a practice of putting the limited strength into the most critical and crucial regions. Therefore, the propositions of both old and neo-isolationism cannot be mentioned in the same breath any longer in terms of degree of overseas involvement.

In terms of influence and role, old isolationism held a leading position for some time, had a relatively clear and definite program and reached a historical conclusion after being tested by practice. Neo-isolationism does not yet have any comprehensive and systematic propositions on policymaking. Although it exerts a considerable influence on the policies of the government, it has all along failed to become the mainstream.

In terms of the color of party groupings, the main force of old isolationism was composed of republican isolationists, and its antithesis was the democrat internationalists. The two groups and two parties were sharply divided. In the course of the development of neo-isolationism, the dividing line between the parties tended to be blurred and there existed in it two neo-isolationist ideological trends, of the republican conservatives and the democratic enlightened groups.

## V

Neo-isolationism is the product of a given historical situation. From World War II to now, it has constantly appeared and has a profound background and root.

First, there has been a fundamental change in the balance of power in the world. The United States has lost its overall superiority over the Soviet Union and also its position of controlling everything in Western Europe and Japan. The world has been transformed from a bipolar into a multipolar world. Reviewing the alliance policies of the United States in the various stages of history of its foreign affairs and the relationship of American international position, we can find by and large this law: When the national strength of the United States is too weak to hold a dominant position, it will avoid being drawn into an alliance, so as to maintain its freedom of action; when it is an overwhelming position of strength, it will control other countries and force them to follow its strategic needs by means of participating in and even knocking together military alliances. Today, when the national strength of the United States is declining day after day and it finds it hard to maintain its position as an overlord, the appearance of the isolationism ideological trend in all kinds of new forms, a trend which traditionally calls for moving away from "excessively tangled" alliance relationships, is not accidental.

Second, the contradictions between the United States and Europe have been intensifying with each passing day and the foundation of the U.S.-European alliance has become shaky. In the 30-odd years after the founding of NATO, contradictions and frictions between the United States and Europe have constantly existed and developed.



However in the past, when the United States occupied a controlling position, problems could be quite easily solved. How the nuclear deterrence strategy--the military foundation of NATO--has gradually weakened as a result of the United States losing its nuclear superiority, and what is used to deter the enemy has concurrently scared themselves, and moreover, the basis for their alliance has turned into a factor for causing contradictions. Joint efforts to counter the Soviet threat provide the political foundation of NATO. Now the divergences between the United States and Europe on a series of questions of fundamental importance, questions of how to assess and how to deal with Soviet expansion, have become increasingly more profound and acute. This, plus the change in the balance of economic strength, has encouraged Western Europe not to willingly follow any longer the command of the United States, and its assertion of independence is increasing day by day. In such a situation, U.S. political circles, congress and public opinion have for quite some time, one after another, blamed the Western European allies, saying that Western Europe "lacks a strategic perspective," "utilizes the U.S. protection to seek private gains from the east" and that the United States "should not help those who are unwilling to defend themselves." This resentful feeling is considerably widespread, and there are two situations in this respect: One is that the so-called "Atlanticists" who have relatively profound economic ties with Europe and still hold a leading position at present insist on safeguarding NATO and hold that NATO should also be reorganized. The other is that the isolationist ideological trend which is traditionally unwilling to get involved in European affairs will surely arise calling for withdrawal from Europe and even the dissolution of NATO.

Third, a new tendency has emerged in U.S. economic ties with Europe and Asia. Over the last few years, U.S. trade with the Asia-Pacific region has drastically increased and surpassed for the first time in history its trade with Europe. The economies of the Western European countries have made slow progress and their markets are overcrowded, while the economies of the Asia-Pacific region have developed at a swift pace; they have vast markets, abundant raw materials and immense potential for further development. There is much more room for the United States to develop economic and even political relationships with the Asia-Pacific region. Therefore, American financial groups and government circles have attached increasing importance to the latent strategic significance of this region to the United States. Formulations such as "the epoch of the Pacific has begun" have become very popular inside the United States. This tendency will keep on developing and will certainly reduce the strategic significance of Europe to the United States.

Now will this neo-isolationist ideological trend with the gradual troop withdrawal from Western Europe as its main slogan develop? What influence will it produce? What are the long-term prospects for isolationism in the United States? All these questions are questions at present which call for thorough probing and exploration.

The United States is after all one of the two superpowers. To preserve its position as a superpower and to play a global role, the United States still cannot move away from its allies, and Europe remains the key region in U.S. global strategy. The American ruling group, no matter who are in power,

cannot get away from this basic reality. Global unilateralism must have powerful military strength as its backing. If it fails to maintain such a strength, it has to pursue "mutually supportive" "multilateralism." Evidently, it is impossible, for quite long period, for neo-isolationism to become the mainstream.

The rise of neo-isolationism indicates, in a certain aspect, that the U.S.-European alliance has come to a turning point at which it has to be reformed. However, feasible and fundamental solutions to this problem are still not seen as yet. So long as the contradictions between the United States and Europe are not fundamentally alleviated and instead even keep on intensifying, the neo-isolationist ideological trend will steadily go on functioning and the demand for troop withdrawal from Europe cannot possibly quieten down. Moreover, there are indications that the movement to call for troop withdrawal will possibly converge with the rising movement to oppose nuclear war and to call for nuclear disarmament and generate a greater momentum. It is estimated that the "momentum" of the tide to demand troop withdrawal this time will be "more vigorous" than the one during the Mansfield motion period and will "likely succeed to a greater extent." At present, the debate on the question of troop withdrawal has begun to be conducted in Congress, and its ultimate result remains to be observed. Although the Reagan administration resolutely opposes troop withdrawal, there will inevitably be some readjustments, judged from the general trend, at least on the questions of the size of American forces stationed in Europe and their nuclear arms, and the sharing of defence expenditures between the United States and Europe and gradual revision of NATO strategy. Completely maintaining the status quo of NATO in the future will be hardly possible.

Like old isolationism, neo-isolationism is expressed in immense one-sidedness. It very often holds extreme views, raises extreme slogans and deviates from reality (for example, magnifying the role of nuclear weapons and the United States' possibilities of "self-sufficiency" in natural resources; and underestimating the role which its European allies play in the security of the United States). However, its emergence has its objective basis and the problems raised also objectively exist and need solutions. Following the growth and decline of U.S. national strength, in the course of its endeavors to readjust its position and role in the world, for a long period to come, when the question arises of whether or not the United States should involve itself in overseas affairs (not confined to Europe) or maintain certain relations (in particular, the alliance relationship) or take some actions (in particular, military actions), the difference in interests of the internal sectors of the ruling group will surely find expression in divergence and controversies on policy matters; and there will possibly emerge time and again ideological trends with a diversity of names and brands and views on policymaking which fall into the category of isolationism; and in particular, at a time when domestically a grave crisis breaks out in the United States and internationally the United States suffers great setbacks, this ideological trend may well generate a high tide once again.

In brief, as an imperialist superpower, the fundamental nature of the policies of the United States will not change and there is no fundamental difference in the propositions of all factions within the ruling group. However, the repeated emergence of American neo-isolationism reflects, in one aspect, the historical tendency that American hegemonism has been going downhill from its pinnacle of strength.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'HUANQIU' REVIEWS BOOK ON U.S. ECONOMIC SYSTEM

HK300204 Beijing HUANQIU (THE GLOBE) in Chinese No 1, 23 Jan 83 pp 47-48  
[Tentative]

[Article by Zhang Renjian [4545 0088 7003]: "Restoring the American Dream"]

[Text] (Robert Linger), the author of the book, "Restoring the American Dream," is a writer famous for his easy and smooth writing style. He is not an expert or authority on politics or economics, but what he expounds in his book is the economic theory of the supply school, which has become a prevailing ideological tendency in present-day United States. It supports a reduction in taxes and in government expenditures on civil affairs, an increase in military spending, control over the money supply and a push to the "economic recovery plan" according to which the government will minimize its intervention in enterprises.

(Linger) supports this economic theory. He believes that what the American people are dreaming of is a true capitalist state in which enterprises enjoy full freedom. In the 1920's, America was indeed a free enterprise society and the system indeed brought about good results in those days. Therefore, he argues:

The American dream is that the government cannot exact huge amounts of money and wealth from people by violence;

The American dream is that the government will utilize all of its authority and resources and settle new social problems by new means of social control; and

The American dream is tied to the people rather than the government. What Americans are missing is the people who for the first time in history declared their domination over the government. They cherish the idea of laissez-faire and yearn for the opportunity of scoring successes without any outside interference.

In short, he said that the American people hope to go back to the "good old days." In those days, America was stronger, both economically and politically, than it is now. The focus of their dream may be summarized in a word-- freedom; and the free enterprise system is its lifeblood. All this reflects

the American people's nostalgia for and a tendency to turn to the right. It also indicates that American people want to regain their nation's previous position in the world through a major reform.

According to the author of this book, a major problem exists in American social institutions. In this country, government officials are no longer people's servants; instead, they have become people's rulers. At present, the liberalist economy in America has completely become a fraud. Since this fraud was shaped, many economic terms have lost their meaning. Whether "industrial prosperity," "inflation," "production recession" or "deflation," all are nothing but some phenomena. The author said that people need not secretly feel pleased if they hear some nice terms, now need they feel distressed to learn some dreadful terms, because none of these terms represents a real situation on people's wellbeing. But clever and foolish moves of deception do exist. It is from this angle that he deals with the American economy in his books.

His viewpoint is summarized as follows:

What disasters have occurred in the American economy since the idea of forming a "big government" was put into practice? Among 288 million American people, about 50 million are elderly, weak, sick and disabled, who need to be supported by the social security system and the social welfare system; another 50 million people have not yet come of age and, in fact, are still burdens for adults and people who are able to work. The government does not need to directly support this the second category, for supporting youngsters is always included in the regular family budgets. The common people do not feel hard pressed to bear this burden. They feel a privation because of the taxes imposed on them. They have to pay 25-45 percent of their incomes in taxes to support those people who live on the social security or social welfare system. Under this taxation system, workers and capitalists all lose production incentives. Those who lose 25 percent of their incomes because of taxes are mostly workers; while those who lost 45 percent of their incomes are capitalists. A large percentage of funds that capitalists reserve for reproduction has thus been drawn into the national treasury.

According to the author's calculation, as an average taxpayer, he must work without remuneration for the government in order to pay all kinds of direct taxes, or he must use 1/3 of his whole life and nearly 1/2 of his work years to pay his taxes.

He said: Drawing welfare benefits and relief has become an American way of life. Retirees receive their social security and welfare paychecks every month. The spending on relief accounts for 45 percent of the budget of the federal government. This means that one of every two dollars that an American pays to his government is used to benefit other people.

According to his estimate, in America, there are 110-120 million people who are employed in various jobs. Their conditions are very complicated. Because the unemployment relief funds are rated quite high, the livelihood of some people on relief is even better than that of some low-wage workers.

Therefore, quite a few low-wage workers are glad to be jobless so that they may live on relief. These people fear inflation the most, because the installment plans in America have made it impossible for all wage-earners to make ends meet. On the other hand, there are between 10 million and 20 million people in America who live on capital. Their concern is always focused on industrial prosperity and taxation.

The author of the book said: Based on their private interests, American governments have promised the public many things that they need not obtain through work. Therefore, it can be said that the government itself has been creating unemployment. Why is the number of job-seekers still so small when a great many jobs have been created? The reason is that people need not work if they are not willing to work and that the government pays you precisely because you do not work. In the name of "redistributing wealth," the government tries to feed "poor" people throughout the country and satisfies the selfish desires of every American but fails to produce an equivalent amount of wealth. As a result, sluggish economic growth or even a recession has become a chronic phenomenon. This makes people draw such a conclusion: There is no need to take any risk because the existing social institutions will provide a considerable amount of income. The hatred and antagonism existing between the government, businesses, labor and thousands of militant groups is on the verge of bursting out.

Therefore, he said: The guaranteed income advocated by the U.S. Government has in fact led to the destruction of productivity. The higher the guaranteed income the more people will live at this level or even slightly above this level. They do not need to work but just draw their paychecks. Under these circumstances, more and more people will become nonproducers, and those who still remain at their work posts will have to contribute a larger and larger percentage of their incomes to feed these nonproducers. As a result, the number of people who enjoy the benefits from the federal government's social spending will soon exceed the number of taxpayers who are still bearing these expenses. That so many people are waiting for government relief is already a problem, rather than a solution to the problems. This will inevitably lead to a disastrous ending.

The steadily increasing social security taxes plus the huge amounts of pension, which have reached astronomical figures and are issued by the government, will eventually make a showdown between workers and retirees unavoidable. The author asked: How long will this situation last, in which fewer and fewer people, though reluctant, are obliged to feed more and more retirees?

For this reason, the author believed that the next revolution in America will be marked by a rejection by active workers to provide for those who do not work. In America, half of the population lives by working, but the other half lives by voting. The American people will be ready to stand up for a large-scale reform if they learn the true state of affairs.

The book also puts forward some other viewpoints:

The new role as a controller of the capitalist economy played by the government in America had steadily increased for 1/2 century, but this role faded in the past decade. In the early 1970's, when difficulties appeared in the federal budgets, U.S. officials used the government's rules and regulations as a means for achieving their social objectives. There were 20,000 pages in the 1970 federal rules and regulations, but the figure increased to 77,498 pages in 1980.

The author asserted that in the 1980's, it is necessary to review the government's functions. People should let the government know what it should do, should do better and should not do. At the same time, people are also looking forward to a dramatic change which may result in a reduction in interest rates, a mitigation of inflation and a stimulus in economic growth.

He said: The size of this change, or the "new beginning," should be comparable with the "new deal" pursued in the 1930's by Roosevelt. But the "new beginning" is precisely opposite to the "new deal." In his "new deal," Roosevelt adopted government interference to create jobs in order to free America from the great depression and the "new deal" led to a comparatively equal distribution of national income. As a result, the government bore greater and greater responsibility, imposed heavier and heavier taxes on the people, and deprived the authority of the states without regard to the constitution. The theory of the "new beginning" holds that it is imperative to completely insist on the American federal system's general principal concerning the relationship between the federal government and state governments. The federal government has now grown to such a degree that it has become hard to control this vicious swell. So this dilation must be stopped at all costs. Every dollar, which remains in the hands of the taxpayers because the government reduces taxes, will eventually move into the hands of industry. Therefore, fighting inflation is a struggle of prime importance no matter how great the short-term cost to society.

Since Roosevelt's "new deal" was effected, the United States has all along been trying to build a more humanitarian society--a welfare nation. But conservatives have all along been hating this effort. Now, they are trying to put an end to this trend and to resolutely break with the past. They are demanding a cutting of the public sector and an expansion of the private sector. To break with the past, the more essential action is in the field of expenditure rather than in the field of taxation. They require a reduction in the proportion of federal spending in the national income.

These changes will require those who have the weakest economic strength--big families and people who are drawing welfare benefits and pensions--to pay the most.

But in the past 10 years, U.S. policy has been to make American social welfare system keep up with that in Europe. Now, the new idea suggests that the weak may achieve better benefits from the reinstatement of the strong's strength than from the increase in the government's assistance. In other words, when the stimulus is given to the economy by cutting welfare benefits and relief for "poor people and by cutting the taxes which rich people must pay, all citizens will benefit.

At the same time, the federal budget will also benefit from the reduction in government rules and regulations and the stable money increase which may positively influence the economy.

This economic theory is called monetarism. Though it is a term sounding academic, it means, in commercial terms, that the money supply may be tightened or relaxed. Here, tight money policy does not mean to generally raise interest rates; instead, it means that the money supply may be relaxed for some specific people and tightened for other specific people. Therefore, retrenching government spending and lowering taxes are the two major mainstays for this money control theory. The purpose of lowering taxes is to lighten the burdens on industry.

The lightening of burdens on industry may, on the one hand, encourage investment and, on the other hand, factories may spend more money on increasing production equipment so as to help American industry recover from its feeble condition. The modernization of production equipment will help production increase and raise the value of the currency.

This is what is meant by the "new beginning" advocated by the author.

The above are some main propositions put forward by this book. They show that the conservative economic theory is reviving in America and mark the beginning of a new conservative era in American politics.

However, since the 1950's, America has changed from austerity to extravagance. Now the American economic supply school theorists are trying to seek a way back to the old days, or a way to change the nation from extravagance to austerity. As the saying goes, "it is easy to change one's way of living from austerity to extravagance and it is difficult to go in reverse." Today, because the nation is becoming poorer, it seems that Americans need to learn how to live more austere. American people began to enjoy an extravagant lifestyle when Roosevelt pursued his "new deal" recovery plan to save America from the 1929 economic great panic. The series of systems Roosevelt formulated for relieving poor people have lasted for more than 40 years so far. At present, the federal government has to use 45 percent of its budget on social welfare. In order to practice austerity, former President Carter asked the people to tighten their belts and economize on food and clothing, or to put it simply, to lead a frugal life. Americans who have been used to living in a well-to-do condition did not like Carter's policies and ousted him from power. Taking warning from his predecessor's experience, Reagan advocated that in the next few years, the federal government should cut income taxes by 30 percent and the federal budget should be balanced in 1983 even if defense spending increases by a big margin. He argued that industry may use the money saved, thanks to tax reduction, to buy more new machines so as to increase production, and individuals may deposit the money that remains in their hands, thanks to tax reduction, in banks and thus allow banks to turn this money into credits extended to enterprises and make the enterprises more solvent. Reagan's smug calculations sound quite reasonable, but economists found that his argument is not beyond controversy. After Reagan became the master of the White House, he immediately said: "I will devote some time to

handling the economic affairs and then turn to international affairs. The seriousness of the American domestic economy is beyond my expectations in the course of the campaign."

This is true. Indeed, the economic problems is a stumbling block.

In fact, all American presidential candidates have many common characteristics. They all support a "big government" and do not believe in "industrial freedom." In other words, they are all one of a kind. In America, people just make futile efforts to vote and elect a president and this only bring about trouble.

The authority of the American federal government has swelled to an extreme degree. In fact the government can interfere in the lifestyle of every person. The party in power, whether it is the democrats or the republicans, will always follow the established rules in their administrative policies. For example, Kennedy's "new frontiers" and Johnson's "great society" were simply refurbished versions of Roosevelt's philosophy, which has now simply been further expanded. Verbally, industrial freedom was encouraged; but actually, the government just continued an interference policy. The Reagan administration has even given people a false impression that it is doing exactly the opposite of what Roosevelt did, but Reagan's government is not a bit smaller than the previous governments, nor is its authority slashed to a small degree. However, new problems brought about by this government have been piling up.

The American working people hold a viewpoint greatly different from that of the capitalists. But there is a common point, and that is distrust of the government. The American masses have expressed this feeling with extremely apparent facts: The number of people who turn out to vote in different presidential elections has become smaller and smaller; and the differences in the numbers of votes received by competing candidates have also become narrower and narrower. The low turnout rates on polling days indicate that the masses have become tired of politics. The narrow differences in votes received by contesting candidates show that they are in fact birds of a feather.

CSO: 4005/674



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S.-LEBANON-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS OUTLINED

OW171938 Beijing XINHUA in English 1829 GMT 17 Mar 83

[Text] Washington, 16 Mar (XINHUA)--There is no breakthrough in separate consultations the U.S. Government has held with Lebanese and Israeli foreign ministers in the last few days to seek a way out of the deadlocked negotiations on Israel's troops withdrawal from Lebanon.

"There is no breakthrough, but progress is being made," a ranking U.S. State Department official said.

During the consultations, it was reported, Israel tried hard to maintain its presence in Lebanon. Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir's current visit to the United States is aimed at winning U.S. support to its stand.

Meanwhile, Lebanon is firm in maintaining its territorial sovereignty, rejecting Israel's residual military presence after it pulls out its 30,000 troops. Lebanon argued that a continued Israeli military presence in the country will entail the continued military presence of Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization, which would lead to the partition of Lebanon.

During his stay here, Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salim has on many occasions ruled out any compromise on his country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. "We are prepared to go to any limits, but not to impinge on the sovereignty of Lebanon," Salim said after meeting U.S. President Ronald Reagan today.

He also ruled out any peace treaty with Israel with the latter still occupying large tracts of Arab land. This, he said, would touch off strong repercussions in the Arab world and render Lebanon isolated.

In principle, Lebanon is not against free trade with Israel, but it insisted that the issue be discussed only after the Israeli withdrawal.

The United States has been in favor of a withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon and stressed that to guarantee the security along Israel's northern border is "a hallmark of U.S. policy." But Washington is quite displeased with the Israelis for their excuses to delay their troops' withdrawal. It fears that the delay would hamper the implementation of Reagan's Middle East peace plan.

However, the U.S. displeasure has only found expression in words. Embolden by such a U.S. attitude, the Israeli foreign minister declared during the visit that some of the Israeli troops will stay in Lebanon for two or three years.

Some newspapers here pointed out recently that "Israel's course under Begin directly conflicts with U.S. interests." They criticized the government for lack of "forceful U.S. action in the face of Israeli intransigence."

Under such circumstances, the Reagan administration has imposed certain pressure on the Israelis in the hope of an early end to the Lebanese-Israeli talks on troops withdrawal.

State Department officials disclosed that the United States has put forth "new ideas" in Shamir's talks with Reagan and they pointed to the "changed situation" after the talks. U.S. Special Envoys Philip Habib and Morris Draper will return to the Middle East to continue talks with leaders of Lebanon and Israel.

CSO: 4000/94

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S.-EEC AGRICULTURAL TRADE TALKS STALEMATED

OW190936 Beijing XINHUA in English 0827 GMT 19 Mar 83

["Round-up: Third Round of U.S.-EEC Negotiations on Agricultural Trade Fails to Make Progress"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Washington, 18 Mar (XINHUA)--The third round of U.S.-EEC top negotiations that ended here today was "inconclusive." Further talks are needed to prevent skirmishes over agricultural trade from escalating into a full-scale trade war.

The talks were held between U.S. trade representative William Brock and Deputy Agriculture Secretary Richard Lyng and EEC Commission Vice President Wilhelm Haferkamp and Commissioner Poul Dalfager.

According to an agreement reached by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and European leaders last December, the two sides should reach an understanding by late March over their agricultural trade problems. Since then, two rounds of talks had been held separately in Washington in January and in Brussels last month. However, the sessions failed to make progress.

The U.S.-EEC conflict over agriculture trade was pushed into a more critical stage last month by U.S. subsidizing--for the first time--the sale of one million metric tons of wheat flour to Egypt, a prime market of West Europe below the world market price.

"The community was bitterly resentful of the wheat flour deal," Ella Frucoff of the EEC's Washington office said.

On the other hand, the United States continues to complain about European subsidies for agricultural products. Washington contends the payments are giving European farmers an unfair advantage in the world market, especially in Asia and the Middle East.

The United States has hinted it may underwrite other sales unless Europe relents.

As an outgrowth of the prolonged world-wide recession, the competition among Western countries to export farm products--which accounted for nearly 15

percent of the 2,000 billion dollar annual volume of world trade in 1981 and 1982--has become more bitter and more threatening.

American farmers still rank first among the world's food exporters. Last year, they sold 41.7 billion dollars in produce overseas, 70 percent more than in 1976. But with its subsidies to farmers, Europe has striven to catch up with the United States in recent years. Last year, its farm exports were valued at 27 billion dollars, a 156 percent increase over 1976.

While American farm exports rose at an annual average rate of 13.1 percent in the 1970's, common market exports rose by 16.9 percent annually.

Under these circumstances, both the United States and the EEC have managed to increase their farm subsidies. While total European spending on farm subsidies came to 12.8 billion dollars in 1981, up 4 percent from the previous year, America's Commodity Credit Corporation, set up in 1933 to support farmers' incomes, granted 15.4 billion dollars in price supports and other subsidies in fiscal year 1982, a rise of 127 percent over fiscal 1980.

In addition, the United States has imposed tariffs and quotas on imported beef, sugar, dairy products, tobacco and peanuts.

As the deadline for reaching agreement on any proposals for resolving the current U.S.-EEC conflict is approaching, observers here believed that if the problem could not be solved soon, it would be passed on to the summit meeting of the seven industrial nations to be held in Williamsburg, the United States.

CSO: 4000/94

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. 1985-90 DEFENSE SPENDING PROJECTED AT \$2 TRILLION

OW191036 Beijing XINHUA in English 0745 GMT 19 Mar 83

[Text] Washington, 18 Mar (XINHUA)--The Pentagon projects a military spending of almost two trillion dollars for a five-year period beginning in fiscal year 1985, according to a "defense guidance" paper made available to the press here.

This represents an increase of 40 billion dollars over the 1984-1988 program.

The guidance paper is issued by every U.S. defense secretary annually as a strategic document to guide the armed services in their long-range thinking. It is classified as internal document but often revealed to the capital's press.

The new guidance paper suggests a further increase of strategic nuclear weapons (51 land-based ICBMs and 9 nuclear submarines) and emphasizes the need to tailor forces for African and Persian Gulf contingencies.

"U.S. interests in Africa will grow in the decade ahead," the paper stresses. As critical commercial and military lines of communication traverse or run in close proximity to this resource-rich continent, "we must maintain and, as required, expand access and transit rights in pro-Western African states for the deployment of U.S. forces to Africa, the South Atlantic and contiguous areas and work to deny or reverse similar access and transit rights to the soviets," the paper says.

Discussing the Persian Gulf, the paper directs the air force by 1986 to store in the area equipment needed to "support planned deployments" and the army to stockpile 50,000 pieces of equipment in the region as well. "U.S. forces will be rapidly projected into the region to directly confront the Soviet attack and assist regional and Western allies, where available, in the defense of the oil fields and the Arabian Peninsula," the paper says.

CSO: 4000/94

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### NICARAGUA SAYS U.S. HELPING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES

OW241417 Beijing XINHUA in English 1320 GMT 24 Mar 83

[Text] United Nations, 23 Mar (XINHUA)--Nicaragua bitterly charged the United States today in the U.N. Security Council against its support of the recent intensifying counter-revolutionary activities along the Nicaraguan-Honduran border area.

In a long statement to the council's meeting today, Deputy Foreign Minister of Nicaragua Victor Hugo Tinoco complained that the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has provided logistic support to the counter-revolutionary forces, along with intensified recruitment and training of counter-revolutionary elements with sophisticated combat tactics.

In recent months, he said, the concentration of counter-revolutionary forces was detected in the areas of Jalapa and Puerto Cabeza. In the first part of February this year, the concentration of such forces, approximately 2,000 troops from the Jalapa area, had entered Nicaraguan territory. A large portion of the troops remained in the mountainous area, yet a small part of that force had penetrated deeper into Nicaraguan territory. From the Puerto Cabeza area, some 2,400 troops attempted to enter into his country.

He went on to say most of those troops were members of the elite group of the Somozists assisted by the United States. However, the serious danger resided in the fact that the forces in the region might have been prompted to get more actively involved in the attempts to affect the situation in Nicaragua.

He asserted that the responsibility of the United States in the present situation could not be obscured. The political stance of the present U.S. administration to defeat the Sandinista revolution could not be denied.

Victor Hugo Tinoco asked the council to appeal to the United States to cease attempts to destroy the Sandinista revolution, and to put an end to the war against Nicaragua.

Enrique Orteza Colindres of Honduras denied his government's involvement in the internal situation in Nicaragua.

Honduran troops were not fighting in Nicaragua, he stated. What was going on in Nicaragua was exclusively an internal matter, he added.

Jeane Kirkpatrick of the United States rejected Nicaragua's charges.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BUSH VISITS CANADA, DISCUSSES SECURITY ISSUE

OW241208 Beijing XINHUA in English 1103 GMT 24 Mar 83

[Text] Ottawa, 23 Mar (XINHUA)--U.S. Vice-President George Bush said here today his country and Canada agreed that the alliance's dual policy on nuclear arms represents the only practical and prudent means of ensuring world peace.

He made the statement at a press conference here after he held talks with Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Foreign Minister Allan Maceachen during his one-day visit to Canada.

Bush said the primary purpose of his visit is to consult with the Canadian Government on nuclear arms and related security issues which confront both countries.

Referring to the U.S.-Canadian agreement on test and evaluation of U.S. defense systems in Canada, Bush said it is "a very important agreement" which can make "significant contribution in the longer run to arms reduction."

According to the agreement signed last month, testing of a U.S. weapon system including cruise missile would be done in Canada with the permission of the Canadian government. But Trudeau told Bush today that the Canadian government has not yet made any decision to allow the cruise testing in Canada.

When talking about their discussion on the U.S.-Soviet Geneva disarmament talks, Maceachen said at the press conference that as the zero-option has not led to an agreement, "we want to explore with the U.S. administration the necessity of offering alternatives in the negotiation.. that could bring about at least possible amount of missiles in Europe."

Bush left here for Washington this evening.

CSO: 4000/94

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S. DEFENSE SECRETARY ENDS VISIT TO SPAIN

OW251828 Beijing XINHUA in English 1452 GMT 25 Mar 83

[Text] Madrid, 25 Mar (XINHUA)--U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger leaves here today after "strongly recommending full Spanish integration with NATO in three days of talks with government leaders.

He said at a forum yesterday that whether Spain should remain in NATO is up to the Spanish government to decide, but "we have made strong recommendations in favor of NATO."

At a luncheon yesterday given in his honor by his Spanish counterpart Narcis Serra, Weinberger said full NATO membership for Spain would be an essential step in Spanish-European relations and in NATO's history.

Spain became the 16th member of the North Atlantic Alliance last May but its armed forces are not integrated into the NATO military command structure.

The ruling socialists under Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez campaigned in last October's general elections on a platform that included a plan calling for a referendum on Spain's NATO membership.

A communique issued after Weinberger's talks with Gonzalez said that the United States urged Spain to fully join in NATO.

It said that Gonzalez told Weinberger of his conviction that the existence of a good defensive network in the West constitutes a guarantee for Spain as well as for the geographical area to which Spain belongs.

It also said that Gonzalez expressed his desire to maintain good relations with the United States.

Speaking at a news conference during his visit, Weinberger rejected a Soviet charge that President Reagan's proposal to shift defence policy to a new anti-ballistic missile deterrent violated U.S.-Soviet treaties.

The U.S. defense secretary's talks here also covered a bilateral treaty which gives the United States use of one naval and three air bases in Spain and a planned purchase by Spain of 84 fighter planes from the United States.

He arrived here on 23 March before leaving, he will meet King Juan Carlos 1.

CSO: 4000/94



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BA YI RADIO VIEWS U.S. ANTI-CHINA POLICY

OW290424 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 28 Mar 83

[Text] The U.S. authorities' series of actions, like selling weapons to Taiwan, restricting textile imports from China, wrangling over past debts and so forth, once again exposes their imperialist and hegemonist character and indicates that U.S. imperialism's hostile policy toward China and the Chinese people has remained unchanged to this day. What is most enraging is the fact that U.S. imperialist chieftains are not only pursuing a "two Chinas" policy, but are secretly hatching "one China, one Taiwan," "an independent Taiwan" and other plots to divide our country.

It is surprising that in the face of the situation certain central leaders are acting as apologists for U.S. imperialism, saying that it is not the U.S. Government pursuing a policy hostile to China, but a handful out-of-office politicians acting irresponsibly. This kind of talk, designed to confuse the public, actually shields the U.S. leaders' anti-China policy and their own erroneous, pro-U.S. policy.

In fact, it is none other than U.S. President Reagan who recently openly declared that the "Taiwan relations act" is the guiding principle for U.S.-China relations. Reagan has in effect written off in one stroke all the agreements signed on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States and has regarded relations between the United States and Taiwan as relations between two countries.

U.S. Secretary of State Shultz also announced at a press conference that the United States will never turn its back on Taiwan and will in any circumstance uphold Taiwan's independence and sovereignty and defend the Taiwan people's freedom.

U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger not long ago declared that in the U.S. Far East strategy Taiwan's naval, ground and air forces will always be friendly forces, and that when the situation so requires the armed forces of the two sides will fight in coordination.

The remarks were quite undisguised. Weren't they a revelation of an imperialist and hegemonist attitude? We would like to ask: Can such U.S. imperialist chieftains as Reagan, Shultz and Weinberger be considered a handful of persons

unwilling to give up their imperialist and big-power hegemonist ideas? No, they are the very out-and-out imperialists and hegemonists now in power in the United States. They are not only openly pursuing a "two Chinas" policy, but are pushing a serious "one China, one Taiwan" scheme. In the face of this situation, how can anyone attempt to confuse the public, defend the U.S. imperialist leaders and continue to follow the erroneous pro-U.S. policy?

At the present time, not only is it wrong to cover up the U.S. imperialist chieftains' anti-China crimes, but such a policy should be mercilessly exposed and firmly opposed. Only in this way can we really defend China's sovereignty and uphold the Chinese people's national pride.

CSO: 4005/674

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BA YI URGES REBUFF TO U.S. ANTI-CHINA POLICY

OW300156 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 29 Mar 83

[Text] Article 54 of our constitution solemnly states: It is the duty of citizens of the People's Republic of China to safeguard the security, honor and interests of the motherland. These words bear great historic significance. For over 100 years, the imperialists had continuously committed aggression against our country; British, American and Japanese imperialists flagrantly infringed upon our sovereignty and undermined the national dignity of our people. Hundreds of thousands of revolutionary martyrs had sacrificed their lives for freedom and independence of the motherland. Only after the victory of the Chinese revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China was the national sovereignty truly established and the national dignity of our people safeguarded.

Recently, the imperialists and their lackeys again infringed upon our sovereignty, interfered in our internal affairs and undermined the national dignity of our people. However, because of mistakes in our foreign policy, no resolute actions have yet been taken to strike back at the anti-China moves. As you all know, recently the United States took another insatiable step in interfering in our internal affairs. The statements made by U.S. President Reagan and other U.S. Government leaders showed that they have actually torn up all agreements signed between China and the United States.

The U.S. imperialist chieftains even claimed they had the right to treat our Taiwan Province as an independent country. This means that the U.S. imperialists are staging a "one China, one Taiwan" show in an attempt to permanently split our motherland by rehearsing the "Taiwan independence" farce. It is a well-known fact that following the instructions of their master--U.S. imperialism--the Japanese reactionary authorities also infringed upon our sovereignty. Japan has occupied our Diaoyu Dao, surveyed the seabed around this island and aspired after the continental shelf in our territorial waters. With the support and at the instigation of the U.S. imperialists, the Filipino authorities also declared the Nansha Islands their own territory and occupied some islands there. The U.S. imperialists have been arrogantly demanded our government repay debts incurred by the Qing Dynasty, whereas the U.S. Government did not even dare ask the KMT government in the past.

Why then, 34 years after the founding of the PRC, have the United States and their vassals become so bold in taking such arrogant anti-China actions? The reason is a very simple one: Primarily because some people in central authority have been insisting on the line of allying with the United States and capitalism [lian mei lian zi lu xian], and by so doing they are afraid to give a resolute and powerful rebuff to the anti-China move so as not to offend the other side. This is a very wrong stand. No compromise should be made under any circumstances on issues dealing with national security, sovereignty and national dignity or the interests of the people. Just as the constitution stipulates: It is the duty of citizens of the People's Republic of China to safeguard the security, honor and interests of the motherland; they must not commit acts detrimental to the security, honor and the interests of the motherland.

CSO: 4005/674

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S.-USSR TALKS ON MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES ADJOURN

OW291855 Beijing XINHUA in English 1843 GMT 29 Mar 83

[Text] Geneva, 29 Mar (XINHUA)--The two-month-long U.S.-Soviet Geneva talks on reduction of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe adjourned here today without any progress.

Delegations of the two superpowers held a 70-minute final meeting here before the recess.

U.S. negotiator Paul Nitze reportedly will return to Washington immediately to inform President Reagan firsthand of the negotiations with the Soviets. President Reagan is expected to deliver a speech on the issue of medium-range missiles in a few days.

Meanwhile, Nitze's deputy, Michael Glitman will go to Brussels to inform the allies of the negotiations.

Before the recess, the U.S. and Soviet negotiators declined to say anything about their talks. But after the final meeting, Soviet negotiator Yuliy Kvitsinskiy told reporters that he was "not very optimistic," "let's wait and see," he added.

The talks started on 27 January. The next round of the talks is scheduled to start on 17 May.

CSO: 4000/94

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### REAGAN PROPOSES 'INTERIM AGREEMENT' FOR INF TALKS

OW310230 Beijing XINHUA in English 0232 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Washington, 30 Mar (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan announced today that the United States has proposed to the Soviet Union an "interim agreement" in which both sides are allowed to deploy a limited number of intermediate-range missiles on the basis of equality.

In a formal statement Reagan said, the U.S. would substantially reduce its planned deployment of Pershing-II and ground-launched cruise missiles in some West European countries if the Soviet Union reduces its warheads on longer-range intermediate nuclear missiles to an equal level on a global basis.

Reagan said that NATO will begin deploying late this year a "specific deterrent" to the threat posed by the Soviet Union's 350 SS-20s already deployed unless an agreement to eliminate such weapons would make this deployment unnecessary.

He said the new proposal is a "serious initial step toward the total elimination of this class of weapons." The original U.S. proposal for the entire elimination of these systems--the so-called "zero option"--"remains on the table," he said, adding that the U.S. was "ready to explore any serious Soviet suggestions."

Reagan had invited the NATO ambassadors here to the White House just before he made the statement. A report by the chairman of the NATO Special Consultative Group was arranged by the White House press office for the press. It expresses NATO's "strong support" for the new American INF negotiating initiative. The report praises it as a "significant step designed to move the INF negotiations toward conclusion of an equal, fair and verifiable arms control agreement." "They reaffirmed that in the absence of a concrete arms control agreement, deployment (of new U.S. missiles) will proceed as scheduled in accordance with the (NATO's) 1979 decision," the report says.

The Reagan administration has been under strong pressure from its western allies to take a more flexible position in the Geneva INF talks which recessed yesterday after another round of fruitless talks. The U.S. insisted on its "zero option" proposal while the Soviet Union resolutely opposed to any deployment of new U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe.

The Soviet Union offered to reduce its SS-20s to a level on a par with the total of French and British missiles if no U.S. missile is deployed in Europe, but was rejected by the West.

To solve the deadlock in the Geneva talks, Western leaders have repeatedly urged the U.S. to consider an interim agreement with the Soviets. They had hoped that a U.S. compromise proposal would help achieve an agreement and if it failed, it will help convince the European public that it is the Soviet Union who hindered an agreement and the deployment of the U.S. missiles is inevitable.

CSO: 4000/94

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ZAMBIAN, U.S. PRESIDENTS HOLD DISCUSSIONS

OW3111138 Beijing XINHUA in English 0756 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Washington, 30 Mar (XINHUA)--President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said he had "extensive" discussions with President Reagan today on problems of South Africa and Namibia and stressed the importance of achieving an early settlement of the Namibian independence issue.

He said after meeting with Reagan that they "share an abhorrence of the apartheid system" which is being practiced in South Africa. They both viewed that "an early end" to this system will be "good for peace, stability and rich harmony in the southern African region."

On Namibia, Kaunda said they agreed that the basis of the solution to this problem should be Resolution 435 of the United Nations Security Council. In this connection they agreed to continue consultation on these problems.

A senior U.S. official who briefed reporters on the meeting said later Kaunda had stressed the importance of getting an early settlement of the Namibian problem and an early return to greater stability in southern Africa, while the United States committed itself to "seeing the process through."

Kaunda's visit is viewed by the U.S. administration as an opportunity to persuade the Zambian leader into pressuring the Angolan government to remove Cuban troops from Angola. Like other frontline states, Zambia is opposed to linking the Namibian issue with Cuban troops withdrawal from Angola.

The U.S. official said that the talks were not negotiations but consultations and the United States and Zambia are trying to devise "common approaches" to the problems that face them.

Kaunda, who arrived here yesterday for a four-day official visit, is the first president from the frontline states of southern Africa to visit Washington during the Reagan administration.

Their discussions here today also covered bilateral relations, regional issues, the Middle East and East-West relations.

CSO: 4000/94



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### REAGAN DEFENDS U.S. NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT POSITION

OW010924 Beijing XINHUA in English 0825 GMT 1 Apr 83

[Text] Washington, 31 Mar (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan today defended his new arms-reduction proposals as "fair, far-reaching and comprehensive," but acknowledged "we still have a long way to go."

In his address to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, Reagan called on the Kremlin to give "careful consideration" to his yesterday's proposal for an interim agreement at the deadlocked Geneva talks on intermediate range nuclear missiles in Europe.

He complained that "the Soviet Union so far has not been willing to accept the complete elimination of these systems on both sides." To the Soviets "negotiation is only another form of struggle," Reagan said.

He talked of the principles on nuclear disarmament issues, such as significant reductions on both sides, equality and verifiability, and emphasized the necessity to build up military strength just for the sake of achieving a disarmament agreement. "Only if the Soviets recognize the West's determination to modernize its own military forces will they see an incentive to negotiate a verifiable agreement establishing equal, lower levels," he said.

He criticised the growing nuclear freeze movement, saying that "however well-intentioned they are, these freeze proposals would do more harm than good."

The House of Representatives has recently passed a resolution calling for nuclear freeze on both sides and as the President was addressing the council, a demonstration against nuclear arms race was held in the nearby area.

"It is vital that we show patience, determination and, above all, national unity," he said, "if we appear to be divided, if the Soviets suspect that domestic political pressure will undercut our position--they will dig in their heels. And that can only delay an agreement and may destroy all hope for an agreement."

Both the address today and the proposal he announced yesterday as well as other statements on disarmament he made recently were seen as components of an energetic campaign designed to convince public opinion, domestic and

abroad, that the United States is "sincere" in pursuing a nuclear disarmament agreement with the Soviet Union, and if no agreement was reached it was the other side to blame. Therefore, the projected deployment of new U.S. intermediate range missiles in West Europe should be carried out as planned, and the modernization program of U.S. military forces should go on unchecked. In the battle for the public support, Reagan has "to look flexible" and "to appear sincere" in efforts to reach an arms control treaty, the NEW YORK TIMES noted in a news analysis today.

CSO: 4000/94

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BA YI NEWS BRIEFS ON RECENT EVENTS IN HEADLINES

OW290514 [Editorial Report] (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China at 1325 GMT on 28 March broadcasts a 7-minute cluster of news on U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, spies in Hong Kong, spying on Sino-Soviet talks, asylum for a PRC tennis star in the United States, Chinese researchers in the United States, Kuomintang spies, Sihanouk, and the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea, and Chinese youths' knowledge of U.S. imperialists and Japanese militarists.

According to the announcer, continued arms sales to Taiwan by the United States have aroused the great indignation of people in all walks of life in China. He says that Australian spies in Hong Kong will exchange information with the CIA and British spies on Premier Zhao Ziyang's visit to Australia and that the Japanese, entrusted by the Americans, did all they could during the Beijing consultations between the Chinese and Japanese vice foreign ministers to obtain secret information regarding the second Sino-Soviet consultations in Moscow.

In other news read by the announcer the Reagan administration was said ready to grant political asylum to PRC tennis star Hu Na who has remained in the United States since last summer: Chinese Americans doing research in the United States are reportedly being closely watched by the CIA and the FBI: In 1982 Kuomintang spies reportedly verified the exact positions of more than 200 missile bases in China: Sihanouk was said to have privately expressed his intention recently to resign as president of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea because China's aid to the Pol Pot faction far outstrips its combined aid to his and Son Sann's factions; and it was reported that the Chinese Magazine ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN seldom reports to Chinese youths on the criminal nature of U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism.

CSO: 4005/674

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### KURT WALDHEIM CALLS FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

OW311828 Beijing XINHUA in English 1618 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Tokyo, 31 Mar (XINHUA)--Visiting former Secretary-General of the United Nations Kurt Waldheim today called on the world people to force the two superpowers to take measures toward nuclear disarmament.

Addressing a disarmament symposium sponsored by ASAHI SHIMBUN here this afternoon, Waldheim said the two nuclear superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, have a special responsibility on nuclear disarmament.

He called on the two superpowers to demonstrate their attitudes towards the all-round prohibition of nuclear weapons not only technologically but first of all politically.

He stressed that both the United States and the Soviet Union should state that none of them will be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The former U.N. secretary-general pointed out that during the Geneva talks the Soviet Union proposed to withdraw its SS-20 missiles from the West and deploy them east of the Urals but that solves no problem.

Professor Yoshikazu Sakamoto of Tokyo University said at the symposium that in his opinion, the U.S.-Soviet disarmament talks have a "strong sense of propaganda."

Speaking at the symposium, Nobel Peace Prize Winner Alfonso Garia-Robles, who is chief representative of the Mexican Government to the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, called on the United States and the Soviet Union to implement the U.N. Resolution of December 1982, announce a freeze of nuclear arms immediately and stop their nuclear arms race.

The three-day international disarmament symposium, which opened on 29 March and closed today, was attended by ten noted figures from Japan and some other countries.

CSO: 4000/94

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### JAPAN-ASEAN TIES, PLANS FOR FUTURE EXAMINED

Tianjin GUIJI WENTI YANJIU [JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES] in Chinese  
No 4, Oct 82 pp 10-17

[Article by Pei Monong [5952 7817 6593]: "Japan-ASEAN 'Special Relationship' and Japan's 'Pacific Rim' Development Strategy"]

[Text] The economists of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand) tend to regard the relationship between ASEAN and Japan as a "special relationship," while the Japanese authorities concerned claim that the two sides have become a principal "axis" in the Pacific. Although both attach a great deal of importance to the relationship, they have yet to come up with a systematic treatise on this matter. This article is an attempt to offer a few observations on the foundation and content of the relationship, its achievements and the problems of its existence, and its current and future relations with Japan's "Pacific rim" development strategy.

#### Foundation and Content of the "Special Relationship"

The postwar relationship between Japan and the ASEAN countries has evolved from its resumption to its in-depth growth. Before the founding of ASEAN, between the 1950's and 1967, the relationship gradually resumed as Japan paid war reparations. A subsequent period of growth, from the founding of ASEAN to the visit by Japanese Prime Minister Fukuda to these countries in 1977, saw a sizable increase of direct financial investment by the Japanese business community and official development aid to ASEAN. Since 1977 the relationship has grown in depth, so much so that their economic cooperation often involves a certain degree of policy coordination. The so-called "special relationship" and "principal axis" are the best denominators of their relationship during this particular period.

According to Filipino economist, the *raison d'etre* for Japanese-Asian cooperation is that ASEAN has the following to offer to Japan:

(1) An abundance of industrial raw materials and the prospect of lower production costs; (2) an abundance of cheap labor; (3) plenty of cheap land for factory buildings; (4) an expanding domestic market; and (5) an

abundance of cheap energy, including petroleum, coal, waterpower, geothermal energy, and natural gas.

From the vantage point of ASEAN, Japan has the following to offer:

(1) An abundance of available capital; (2) advanced industrial technology; (3) the availability of complete sets of industrial equipment; (4) a tremendous domestic market to carry on trade with ASEAN; and (5) the usefulness of Japan's leading position in the international market.

These analyses are shared by other ASEAN scholars. Some of them have put it even more bluntly: Japan finds ASEAN lucrative, and the ASEAN countries find Japan affluent.

These analyses, however, have not touched on three other factors of equal or even greater importance:

(1) Their geographic proximity and the vitally important location of ASEAN; i.e., the dependence of the Japanese economy on the Strait of Malacca (through which more than 70 percent of Japan's petroleum imports pass). (2) In spite of vastly different economic conditions and social institutions, the political systems of both sides are basically similar, and the value systems of their ruling classes are based on similar philosophies. (3) The promotion of Japan's strategy for development of the "Pacific rim."

In a word, the foundation of economic cooperation between the developing ASEAN and industrialized Japan rests on the fact that one of them needs raw materials and the other has abundant natural resources; on the fact that one needs capital and advanced technology; and on Japan's long-term strategic projections.

The economic cooperation between the two [sides] covers three major areas: trade, Japan's private direct investment, and official development aid.

The following table shows the trade between the two and the percentage of Japan's foreign trade that it represents:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>		<u>1967</u>		<u>1980</u>		<u>Japanese</u>	
	<u>Exports</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Imports</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Exports</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Imports</u>	<u>%</u>
Indonesia	155	1.5	197	1.7	3,458	2.7	13,167	9.3
Malaysia	88	0.8	333	2.9	2,061	1.6	3,471	2.5
Philippines	363	3.5	374	3.1	1,683	1.3	1,951	1.4
Singapore	160	1.5	36	0.3	3,911	2.9	1,507	1.1
Thailand	341	3.3	160	1.4	1,917	1.5	1,119	0.8
ASEAN	1,107	10.6	1,100	9.4	13,030	10.0	21,215	15.1
World Total	10,442	100.0	11,663	100.0	129,807	100.0	140,528	100.0

As shown in the table above, Japan's exports to ASEAN countries between the founding of ASEAN and 1980 increased 11.8-fold in terms of the prevailing price. Its imports from ASEAN countries rose 19.3-fold, and the value of its imports from Indonesia increased 69-fold (mostly due to imports of petroleum at the vastly higher prices imposed by Indonesia). Comparing 1967 to 1980, the share of Japan's exports to ASEAN countries stood basically at 10 percent of its total exports, but its imports, from ASEAN countries rose from 9.4 percent to 15.1 percent. This was due to [Japan's] increasing need for petroleum. By 1980, ASEAN had achieved a favorable balance of trade against Japan, although this may not last. This will be discussed later. What must be pointed out is that the share of ASEAN countries' exports to Japan compared to their total exports rose from 26.5 percent in 1972-73 to 32 percent in 1979-80, of which 70 percent was petroleum, and the ratio of exports to Japan was over 20 percent of the total exports of each of the four nations excluding Singapore, with that of Indonesia going up as high as 42 percent.

Exports of Japan's industrial products to ASEAN, compared to its total exports to these countries, rose from 93.8 percent in 1972-73 to 97.4 percent in 1979-80. ASEAN countries' exports of primary commodities to Japan, compared to their total exports to Japan, rose from 89.2 percent in 1972-73 to 93 percent in 1979-80. For instance, the ratio between some primary commodities exported to Japan by ASEAN and Japan's total imports of those same commodities in 1977 is as follows:

Coconut oil	100 percent	Kerosene	94.8 percent
Lumber	100 percent	Heavy oil	94.0 percent
Tin	100 percent	Natural rubber	96.6 percent

As far as trade goes, who is more dependent on whom? This is illustrated by the following official Japanese statistics:

#### Comparison of Japan-ASEAN Trade

(Percentage, 1979)

1. Thailand's share of Japan's foreign trade	1.7	1.1
Japan's share of Thailand's foreign trade	20.7	26.3
2. Singapore's share of Japan's foreign trade	2.6	1.3
Japan's share of Singapore's foreign trade	9.6	17.0
3. Indonesia's share of Japan's foreign trade	2.1	7.9
Japan's share of Indonesia's foreign trade	46.1	29.2
4. Malaysia's share of Japan's foreign trade	1.5	2.9
Japan's share of Malaysia's foreign trade	23.9	23.5
5. The Philippines' share of Japan's foreign trade	1.6	1.4
Japan's share of the Philippines' foreign trade	26.4	22.6

(White Book on 1980 Foreign Trade, Ministry of International Trade and Industry, Japan)

Judging from these figures, it would seem that ASEAN depends on Japan for trade, while Japan seems to play a decisive role in the foreign trade of the ASEAN countries. In reality, as pointed out by some ASEAN scholars, the industrial products that ASEAN needs are available in other countries as well as in Japan. But even if Japan could get the primary commodities it needs elsewhere outside ASEAN at the same price, it still would have to pay stiffer shipping costs. So Japan really is more dependent on ASEAN.

Another important sector of Japan-ASEAN economic cooperation is Japan's direct investments in ASEAN. Japan's investments abroad, which increased at an annual rate of 19 percent in the 1960's, rose to an annual rate of 29 percent in the 1970's. By 1980, Japan's direct investment abroad, 10 times that of 1960, amounted to a total of 36.05 billion dollars, 25.2 percent of which, or 9.08 billion dollars, was invested in Asia. The approximately 7 billion dollars it invested in the ASEAN member countries amounts to 77.1 percent of its investments in Asia, or 20 percent of its total foreign investment. Japanese investments in the member countries of ASEAN grew at an annual rate of 35.5 percent in the 1970's, and the focal point was Indonesia, where it reached a total of 3.9 billion dollars--which represents 12 percent of Japan's foreign investment, or 60 percent of its investment in ASEAN. Compared to the total amount of foreign capital in ASEAN, Japan's investment is 37 percent thereof in Indonesia, 32 percent in Thailand, 25 percent in Malaysia, 23 percent in the Philippines, and 15 percent in Singapore.

Japan's investments in ASEAN are mostly in those enterprises which require a high density of the labor force, mainly manufacturing and mining. In 1977, for instance, 35.45 percent of its 4.581 billion dollars of investment went for manufacturing, and over 50 percent thereof went into mining. These two [categories] make up a total of 85 percent of the investment.

Japanese concentrates most of its investments in ASEAN on medium and small joint ventures in which the Japanese control 30-50 percent, on the average 40 percent, of the capital. Japanese investors find the joint ventures well received by the local authorities and the local population, and they provide a vehicle through the local partners to deal with the local government and understand local market (including labor market) conditions and practices. In a word, they help make the business more competitive. The products of the joint enterprises run by the Japanese and the host countries form an important part of the host countries' export trade. For instance, they account for 20 percent of Thailand's total exports, and the ratio is still greater in Indonesia.

It must be noted that while in 1981 Japan earned 865 million dollars in profits from its direct investments abroad, at least 20 percent thereof came from its investments in ASEAN.

Another important sector of Japan-ASEAN economic cooperation is Japan's "official development aid," which includes gifts, donations, development loans, and development capital. Between 1960 and 1977, Japan spent 7.365



billion dollars for official development aid abroad; 74 percent of this was spent from 1970 to 1977. Some 41.9 percent of Japan's official development aid abroad between 1970 and 1977 went to ASEAN--some 22.9 percent of it to Indonesia and 11.2 percent to the Philippines, the two major beneficiaries. In the 1960's, 59.4 percent of Japan's official gift funds abroad (not including technical aid and other gift funds) went to ASEAN, but it dropped to 35.5 percent in 1970-77. All other gift funds (mainly the payment of war reparations and other similar indemnities) were also cut back. In the 1960's, ASEAN received one third of Japan's development loans and development capital, and the ratio went up to two fifths between 1970 and 1977. Although the practical completion of payments of war reparations and other indemnities in the 1960's had brought about a great reduction in gift funds, the technical aid, development loans, and development capital rose from the 1960's ratio of 32.2 percent to 77.1 percent in the 1970's. It must be pointed out that Japan's official development aid abroad so far has been only 0.26 percent of its gross national product, less than half of the 0.7 percent required of industrial countries by the United Nations international development strategy of the 1980's.

Japan's official development aid is mainly for the expansion of its export market and the acquisition of vital raw materials. The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared in the early 1960's: "From the vantage point of the long-term economic development of Japan, the exportation of Japanese machinery and the acquisition of adequate and stable raw material resources are indispensable to the expansion of the Japanese economy. Consequently, Japan ought to participate actively in the development of the developing countries, which are anxious to exploit their natural resources but do not have the capital and the technology to do so." This is the basic policy behind Japan's offer of official development aid to the members countries of ASEAN.

In his visit to the ASEAN member countries in January 1981, Prime Minister Suzuki declared that Japan would help ASEAN in four different areas of economic construction: 1) To develop the rural regions to promote agricultural production; 2) to develop energy resources; 3) to develop manpower resources; and 4) to assist medium and small enterprises. This is a continuation of Japan's long-term needs.

Looking at current Japan-ASEAN trade as a whole, Japan ranks above the United States (except in individual ASEAN member countries) in investments and official development aid to ASEAN. It is clear that the economic relationship between Japan and ASEAN, in spite of minor differences, has become basically indivisible. This is probably the basic justification for what the ASEAN scholars have called the "special relationship" and what the Japanese have called the "principal axis."

#### Manifestations and Problems of the "Special Relationship"

Founded on economic cooperation, the Japan-ASEAN "special relationship" is reflected first of all in the area of economic development. We all know

that Japan's economic development has been spectacular in the past 20 years. Its economic growth reached an annual rate of 10.5 percent in the 1960's and stayed at 5.2 percent in the 1970's--the foremost among the industrialized countries. The economic development of ASEAN has been quite rapid, too. Its annual rate of growth, which has already reached 6.5 percent in the 1960's, rose further to 7.56 percent in the 1970's--the first among the developing countries in market economy. These achievements are due to the domestic conditions of each and to the impact of international economic conditions. Judged in terms of bilateral economic relations between Japan and ASEAN, the latter countries have provided a tremendous amount of industrial raw materials and energy, while the former has exported a tremendous amount of capital and technology. Insofar as this goes, both sides consider the development of economic cooperation to have been mutually beneficial.

The ASEAN countries are troubled by a number of serious problems in the economic relationship, especially the unreasonableness of Japan's foreign trade policy, its selfishness in running the cooperative enterprises financed by Japanese investments, and its reluctance with regard to technology transfer.

ASEAN's foreign trade contributes heavily to the gross national product of its members countries: 149.2 percent (largely earnings from transshipments) in Singapore, 56.8 percent in Malaysia, 32.2 percent in Indonesia, 19.2 percent in Thailand, and 15.4 percent in the Philippines. Consequently, foreign trade has a far-reaching impact on the economy of the ASEAN countries. In a word, the ASEAN member nations usually sustained an unfavorable balance of trade in the 1970's. Although there was a surplus of 8.185 billion dollars in favorable balance of trade in 1980, a large bulk of this was the Indonesia's and Malaysia's petroleum earnings. If 70 percent of the foreign trade earnings of these two countries were excluded, the situation would be so different that each of the ASEAN countries would sustain an unfavorable balance of trade. This is due mainly to Japan's "export more and import less" trade policy, its protectionism, and the practice of unequivalent trade exchanges. For instance, 80 percent of the bananas sold in the Japanese market come from the Philippines, and Japan does not produce any bananas so as to require protection. But the tax on imported bananas is as high as 40-50 percent, the highest on fruit. What the Philippines resents the most is the fact that Japan levies a tax of 40-50 percent on bananas packaged in the Philippines, but none at all on similar packages by Japanese subsidiaries in the Philippines. Japan imports 90 percent of the corn it needs from the United States and only 6.7 percent from Thailand, where corn is the fourth most important export commodity. As the serious economic recession in the principal Western countries brings down the price of raw materials, ASEAN again faces the hardships of an unfavorable balance of trade vis-a-vis Japan.

Japan's "import less" policy means importing fewer or no industrial products from ASEAN. The growth of ASEAN's industrial products increased at an annual rate of 8.5 percent in the 1960's (Malaysian data missing),

topped by Singapore at 13 percent and Thailand at 11 percent. The rate again rose in the 1970's to 10.4 percent, topped by Indonesia at 12.5 percent, Malaysia at 12.4 percent, and Thailand at 11.4 percent. But the industrial products imported by Japan from ASEAN countries in 1972-73 amounted to only 11.4 percent of Japan's total imports, and fell back to 7.3 percent in 1979-80. Japan alleges that ASEAN industrial products are not up to standard. But the identical industrial products have been found up to standard by the United States and Western Europe.

The host country partners in the joint ventures complain that the Japanese control the management of the business and rarely volunteer, much less plan, to teach the local people their required know-how and technology. They order the raw materials, equipment and parts either from Japan or from a Japanese subsidiary in a third country, and never show any interest in identical local products at a much lower price. Japanese businessmen believe that their foreign investment are but a part of their worldwide strategy, and that they are not obliged to help the ASEAN countries develop their economy. The host country partners also find that their Japanese colleagues are polite but arrogant, that they are rather easy to work with but not harmoniously, and that they live behind an impenetrable wall of their own culture, education, and customs.

The rule by which the Japanese run their official development aid is "for our own sake"; they seldom care about the economic development of the host countries.

Japanese investments and economic aid, and the penetration and flooding of ASEAN markets by Japanese commodities, have given rise to a number of social and economic problems which prove disturbing to the authorities of the host countries. First, the antithesis between town and country has become more pronounced. Second, the contradictions between the vested interest groups of industry, commerce, and bureaucratic compradores on the one hand and the working people on the other are becoming more and more intense. Third, Japan has been gaining increasingly greater control of the ASEAN economy (not quite so in Singapore). Fourth, Japan has sold to ASEAN lots of outmoded machinery of the 1950's, which depresses the competitiveness of the industrial products of the host countries in the international market. Fifth, the fact that Japan attempts "to milk" ASEAN's natural resources makes the host countries concerned about the depletion of their natural wealth.

In spite of the benefits that the ASEAN countries derive from the economic relationship, the local people still remember that Japan was once an aggressor and is now an "economic animal" and a "one-eyed giant of economics." This "ugly image" is likely to persist. If Japan cannot handle the situation properly, the ill feeling toward Japan will tend to intensify and may even affect the relationship between the two sides. The ASEAN countries are already calling on Japan to modify its "export more and import less." trade policy, and to remove its high tariff wall and discriminatory measures.

The "special relationship" in the Japan-ASEAN economy, affected as it has been by the international situation and their mutual economic needs, often

is reflected in their international relations and foreign policy. This became evident after the end of the war in Vietnam, when the Soviet Union, in collaboration with Vietnam, began to target its expansionist spear at Southeast Asia where the American forces had receded. Alarmed by such changes in the international situation, the relationship between both began to change accordingly. Though not counting on Japan to play a military role, ASEAN hopes to work through the allied relationship between Japan and the United States to win American support, and to capitalize on Japan's dominant economic position and political clout to check the Soviet Union and Vietnam. The ASEAN countries also bank on Japanese economic assistance to consolidate their own political stability. The pressing political needs of the two sides have begun to interact on their respective foreign policy. For instance, they have coordinated their policy toward Indochina. Japan supports the ASEAN policy toward Indochina, including nonrecognition of Vietnam's military occupation of Cambodia and the demand for the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, and the freezing of economic aid to Vietnam. However, it is also worth noting that the compromising attitude of some ASEAN member countries toward Vietnam has influenced and been influenced by Japan. The ASEAN countries also have some impact on the Sino-Japanese relationship. Prompted by the reaction of ASEAN, the Ohira government announced the following three principles of Sino-Japanese economic cooperation: that it will consult the Western powers regarding its economic cooperation with China, that it will not seek military cooperation, and that it will be evenhanded in the Sino-Japanese economic cooperation vis-a-vis its relationship with ASEAN. The Japanese foreign minister was the first to open a dialog with the annual ASEAN meeting of foreign ministers. The dialog now has expanded to include the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the European Common Market. The impact of this formal multilateral relationship on the situation in the Asia-Pacific area and even the whole world is a serious matter to be reckoned with.

In a word, the Japan-ASEAN "special relationship" has grown in breadth and depth. Judging from the overall picture, it has been working harmoniously, regardless of the problems, contradictions, conflicts, and struggles involved. Even though the rate of the economic growth of both sides will slow down, the areas of cooperation will multiply and develop in breadth and depth. The structure of the economic cooperation is not likely to change. Japan will continue to use its industrial products, capital, and economic aid to control the ASEAN commodity and money market. The ASEAN countries will keep trading their raw materials and energy for Japan's capital goods and other industrial products, absorbing Japanese capital and technology to speed up their own economic development. If Japan could deal with ASEAN evenhandedly and adopt a fair policy based on equality and mutual benefit, the economic relationship between the two sides would expand and deepen. To protect their common interests and the particular interests of each, their political and diplomatic ties will also become closer. The ASEAN countries will tend more and more to be Japan's strategic partner in the Asia-Pacific area, second only to the United States, and their coordination in international relations will sharpen their response to the changing international situation.

## The Position of ASEAN in Japan's "Pacific RIM" "Development Strategy

The concept of a "Pacific rim" strategy had been shaping up in the early 1960's, when the Japanese economy began to "take off." The concept turned from a research project into a government policy decision in the 1970's, as Japan became the second strongest economic power in the capitalist world and the economic growth of both North America and Western Europe stagnated and declined. In 1979, Prime Minister Ohira, who endorsed a report prepared by a special research unit which he had named, called the project reported to him "The Concept of Cooperation Around the Pacific." Couched in terms of a vital link in Japan's comprehensive security strategy, it was presented for the first time under government sponsorship to all the countries concerned.

The motive behind this Japanese strategic concept, as stated by a Japanese scholar, is the fact that Japan, being "a very unbalanced country," quite strong in economic strength but extremely weak in natural resources and military strength, depends on peace and prosperity in the world, especially the adjacent areas, for its very existence. Compared to the member countries of ASEAN which are economically self-sufficient, Japan is "poorly endowed." To correct this imbalance, Japan wants very much to provide its economy with a permanent and dependable foothold that could withstand the impact of international turbulence. This is the only way for Japan to maintain its position as a strong economic power with commensurate political clout to play a gainful role in the international arena.

From Japan's vantage point, this foothold could only be in the Pacific area, because any other area would be either too far away or already "monopolized" by other industrial countries. In addition to the geographical, historical, and other subjective factors in the bilateral relationship, there are still objective factors which make the Pacific area attractive for this Japanese strategic concept. In the first place, the Pacific area is rich in natural resources, including an abundant grain supply, great potential of energy production, and all the industrial raw materials. Secondly, there are diversified industries, including those requiring the high density of labor, capital and technology, which turn out a tremendous amount of products for the world market. Thirdly, there are close commercial ties in the area. For instance, 55 percent of Japan's exports are to the Pacific area, from which it gets 58 percent of its imports. The comparable figures are: 76 and 62 percent, respectively, for ASEAN; 65 and 55 percent, respectively, for Australia; and 40 and 50 percent, respectively, for the United States. Fourth, the economic development of the Pacific, especially the Asia-Pacific area of the western Pacific, has been so rapid that its place in the capitalist world has reached a point where its gross national product equals 50 percent of that of the capitalist world. The gross national product of the ASEAN countries exceeds that of Australia, and their GNP and volume of foreign trade are ahead of the 43 African countries south of the Sahara which have preferential relations (Lome Agreement) with the West European Common Market. The full effect of all these favorable factors presents an alluring future for this Japanese concept.

Although the differences in the levels of economic development and needs are conducive to economic cooperation, there are still many problems to be reckoned with, including differences in historical background and cultural traditions, and the complexity of international politics. The Japanese are aware of the difficulties confronting the realization of this project. The consensus is that no substantive work could be done until the next century, and that what might be done within this century is but to put together a rough framework. Almost all the studies done by the Japanese are in favor of starting with a loose association before institutionalizing it; putting economics ahead of politics; edging from what is smaller and easier toward what is harder and larger; and getting all existing organs and projects of cooperation under this system and allowing it to mature orderly and gradually. Geographically, they want to base the project in the "Pacific Basin"--i.e., those countries and regions falling within the regional market economy of the Asia-Pacific area--before extending it to Oceania and the eastern Pacific countries. They warn about giving people the impression that Japan wants to control everything as the leader. The steps to be taken by Japan include propaganda drives through bilateral and multilateral international gatherings, participated in by civic bodies and the leaders of economic circles, to influence public opinion and draw the attention of the countries concerned. Once these countries become ideologically prepared, the government may step in to promote it.

The United States did not give the concept its ready blessings until it had pondered over it for some time, and still treats it rather coldly. The United States has its own project for the "Pacific rim," and has been working on it quite actively. Naturally it does not want to see its economic influence pushed out of the Asia-Pacific area, nor does it tolerate the seizure of its economic base in the eastern Pacific by Japan. Australia, however, has responded very favorably. The ASEAN countries are so worried that their official attitude is still unknown. The member countries of ASEAN feel the concept brings into focus many problems about its objective, its direction, its future, and its participants. Though haunted by the bitter experience of colonial rule, aggression and plunder, they find themselves inadequately prepared to form a regional organization that is not vulnerable to domination by the awesome Japanese economic might. They do not want to see the resurrection of the "Greater East Asian Coprosperity Sphere" and Japanese militarism placing them once again under Japanese control. Japan's gross national product and per capita income are 8 and 16 times, respectively, those of ASEAN, even though Japan is one tenth the size and one half the population of the ASEAN countries. The ASEAN countries are opposed to a "core-periphery relationship" in the "Pacific rim"--a form of principal-subordinate relationship which keeps them at the periphery revolving around Japan, the core. They believe that Japan's leading position in the "Pacific rim" (apparently unavoidable) is a "cause of instability," because American resentment, Soviet opposition, the uneasiness of many other countries over this concept, and various other contradictions, could breed violent changes. Moreover, they are afraid the concept may affect the position and the role of ASEAN among the group of 77 countries committed to the nonaligned movement. Being the backers of a new world economic order, they do not want to weaken their position in

the North-South dialog. In a word, the apparent consensus is that they must not let this concept affect the solidarity and existence of ASEAN. This means they want to maintain their independence and autonomy.

Three international symposiums have taken place since Ohira publicized the concept. The first symposium, at Canberra in September 1980, was chaired by the chancellor of the University of Australia. It voted for the formation of a 25-member Pacific Cooperation Committee and the establishment of a comparable national organization in each of the countries concerned. Owing to the frigid response of ASEAN, neither of these two types of organizations has ever been formed. The second symposium was held at Jakarta in April 1981 under the auspices of Indonesia. It accomplished practically nothing, because the promoter "lacked sincerity." The third symposium took place in Bangkok in June 1982. Chaired by Dr Khoman, deputy prime minister of Thailand, it voted to set up an eight-member directorate committee, participated in by high-ranking officials of Thailand and Indonesia, and for a number of smaller units for trade, investments, natural resources, and mining to be located in Thailand, Indonesia, Japan, and Australia. It also voted for another symposium to be held in Indonesia in 1983 under the auspices of high-ranking Indonesian officials. This [1982] symposium, apparently more successful than the preceding two, marked the beginning of civilian initiative giving way to government sponsorship, even though both procedures are still followed alternately. Objectively speaking, a link has been established between the annual meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers and the foreign ministers of Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and Canada on the one hand, and the "Pacific rim" concept on the other.

It seems there is a lot to be done to get ASEAN interested and volunteering to become a part of the system. While the unequal economic foundation of the Japan-ASEAN relationship should be substantively modified, the ASEAN countries should speed up their own economic development. This requires ASEAN to do the following: First, readjust the ratio between primary commodities and industrial products; reduce the difference between the output value of those industries resting on highly intensive capital and technology on the one hand and that of those industries resting on highly intensive labor on the other; and raise the technological level accordingly. Second, prorate properly the ratio between exports of primary commodities and exports of industrial products. Increase the volume of trade among the ASEAN member countries--which is now only 15 percent of their total foreign trade, and smaller than that they export to Japan. This weakens the foreign trade position of the ASEAN member countries. Third, increase the gross national product of ASEAN and make it at least equal 50 percent of that of Japan. Fourth, reduce to a minimum the foreign debts owned by the member countries of ASEAN. In 1979 their total foreign debts stood at 25.532 billion dollars. Indonesia owed 13.326 billion dollars, a little over 52 percent of the total and 28.3 percent of its national income. In 1981, Malaysia's foreign debts amounted to 30.1 billion ringgit (about 13.682 billion dollars, at 2.2 ringgit to the dollar) and the annual payment of principal and interest was equal to 12.9 percent of its national revenue. This is a tremendous burden borne by the member countries of ASEAN. In a

word, the ASEAN member countries must be economically self-sufficient and must have no fear of being controlled by anyone else before they can feel confident about participating as equal partners in this joint entity. This is a long and tortuous course exposed to the impact of equally complicated political factors and the volatile international situation.

On 16 June 1982, Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki spoke in Honolulu on "The Approach of the Pacific Age." Known as the unveiling of "Suzuki-ism," the speech was a continuation and expansion of the Ohira concept. The only difference is that Ohira only solicited the views of the governments concerned, while Suzuki made a public appeal to turn the Pacific Ocean into a sea of peace, a sea of freedom, a sea for multiple purposes, a sea of mutual benefits, and a sea open to all. Even though he did not say how to bring this about, Japan's intention is crystal clear: "It aims at 'Westernizing' the developing countries of the Pacific." This so-called "Westernization" actually means "Nipponization." The fact that Suzuki tried to tie the concept of Pacific cooperation to the peace of the region reflects Japan's predominant wish to correct its own "imbalance." He was grinding his own ax when he hinted that the increase of Soviet military strength threatens the peace of the region--an impediment to Japan's pursuit of this objective.

It is clear that no matter who represents the Liberal Democrats in running the government in Japan, the "Pacific rim" development strategy will be pursued. There is practically no alternative, even if another party is in power. No doubt, Japan will base this strategy in the Asia-Pacific area, where the ASEAN member countries are the backbone. If they do not favor this concept, the "rim" will be broken. Consequently, one may expect Japan to focus its attention now and for years to come on winning over ASEAN. This actually represents an overall trend in which the principal Second World countries are becoming more and more dependent on the Third World. Suzuki, who spoke of ASEAN as the "principal core" of this region, was actually underscoring the concept of the "special relationship" and the "principal axis." The actual pursuit of this strategy, its impact on international relations and on global political and economic relations, and what it might do in various areas call for a systematic, comprehensive, in-depth study.

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CSO: 4005/433



INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ECLA SECRETARY WANTS JOINT L.A. ECONOMIC ACTION

OW191350 Beijing XINHUA in English 1339 GMT 19 Mar 83

[Text] Santiago, 18 Mar (XINHUA)--Executive Secretary of the Latin American Economic Commission, Enrique Iglesias, today called on Latin American nations to take joint actions immediately to grapple with the current economic crisis and not to wait passively for the economies of developed countries to pick up.

Iglesias, interviewed by the Chilean daily LA SEGUNDA today, pointed out that judged from the performance in the first three months of this year, "the prospects this year for the overall economic growth of Latin America looked dim and Herculean efforts are needed on the part of many countries if they want to maintain their last year's productive activities."

Under capacity operation, he said, brought with it many problems--unemployment, inflation, dwindling foreign currency reserves and decreasing credits from private banks. This, he said, "will last out the whole year."

The drop in oil prices, he continued, constitutes another factor which will work against the already flagging economies of the oil-exporting nations on this continent.

Concluding, he pointed out that the best way out for the Latin American nations to combat the economic crisis is to spur cooperation in trade among them and to take "joint actions" in renegotiating repayments on their foreign debts with international banks.

CSO: 4000/94

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NICARAGUAN OFFICIALS MEET AS FIGHTING ESCALATES

OW201144 Beijing XINHUA in English 1126 GMT 20 Mar 83

[Text] Beijing, 20 Mar (XINHUA)--The Nicaraguan Government and the ruling Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) held joint emergency meetings yesterday on the serious domestic situation caused by the recent infiltration of anti-government gunmen, according to reports from Managua.

An official communique said that the meetings discussed "the escalation of imperialist aggression through the introduction of Somocista elements deep into our territory." The government troops are engaged in large-scale operations to wipe out the invading forces, it said.

It is reported that about 5,000 anti-government gunmen penetrated deep into Nicaragua's central territory, Matagalpa Province, in recent days and took up positions 100 kilometers north of the capital Managua. Government officials admitted that "this is the first time the counter-revolutionaries have penetrated to the center of the republic."

Western news agencies described the fighting as one of the heaviest since the end of the Civil War in 1979, when the present government overthrew the dictatorial regime of Anastasio Somoza.

CSO: 4000/94

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'XINHUA' VIEWS OIL PRICE CUT IMPACT ON VENEZUELA

OW201710 Beijing XINHUA in English 1648 GMT 20 Mar 83

[Text] Caracas, 19 Mar (XINHUA correspondent Wan Zhongmin)--Venezuela will be compelled to cut down on its budget spending for the current year and carry out economic structure reforms as a result of the recent oil price cuts.

This South American country, however, was not much disturbed by the OPEC's decisions on oil price cuts and reduced production quotas, because they were something not wholly out of expectation here. The decisions made at the London OPEC meeting were received with approval by both the ruling and the opposition parties. As a sponsor of the OPEC, Venezuela believes that to maintain OPEC's unity and avert an oil price war are in the fundamental interests of its member countries.

But the price cut of five U.S. dollars per barrel and the reduced production quota of 1.7 million barrels a day will rob Venezuela of three billion U.S. dollars this year in its oil export revenues which account for 95 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings and 75 percent of its financial income.

Now Venezuela can only export an average of 1,450,000 barrels a day at a reduced price of 25.17 U.S. dollars per barrel, as against the original production target of 2,000,000 barrels a day and export target of 1,600,000 barrels a day at their original price. This situation is forcing the country to find a way to make up for the loss.

It had been proposed that government spending should be slashed by 20 percent, government personnel trimmed and wages lowered. However, the proposal has been firmly opposed by President Luis Herrera Campins. General Secretary of the Ruling Christian Social Party, Eduardo Fernandez, Thursday proposed reorganization and merge of government establishments. The most probable option for the moment is a cutback of government spending and a further slash of investment. Last year, investment was cut by 18 billion bolivars in a readjustment of the country's 1983-85 development plan.

To ensure continued economic growth, some proposed the closing down of those state enterprises which run at a great loss and handing them to private hands, a proposition warmly applauded by many, particularly by the business.

Statistics show that the losing state enterprises, a lingering headache for the country, cost the country 10 billion bolivars (2.3 billion U.S. dollars) each year. Of the 160 state enterprises, only a small portion is running at a gain.

Another grave problem confronting Venezuela is its undue reliance on imports, which has led to the outflow of a large sum of its foreign exchanges and also affected its domestic production. The gross value of imports in 1982 reached 12 billion dollars. Imports of food, beverage and other consumer goods accounted for 24 percent of all consumer goods in the country in the last few years. This has sharpened the cry for limitation on imports and for developing agricultural production.

Not long ago, the government announced a ban on importation of a number of commodities and since the end of last February, it has started to control foreign exchanges and practised different exchange rates.

Observers here believed that Venezuela could continue to develop under the current unfavorable situation if it could really carry out the measures already adopted and those in discussion.

CSO: 4000/94

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PLO LEADER URGES JAPAN'S EARLY RECOGNITION

OW221832 Beijing XINHUA in English 1648 GMT 22 Mar 83

[Text] Tokyo, 22 Mar (XINHUA)--Jamal al-Surani, a leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), today urged Japan to recognize the PLO. Al-Surani, member of the PLO executive committee, is leading a four-member delegation to give testimony to the International People's Tribunal here. He stressed to reporters that Japan ought to extend early recognition of the PLO. It is unfair and biased that Japan only recognizes Israel. "We are afraid that the United States might recognize the PLO before Japan does," he noted.

He added that the Palestinian problem is one for the whole Arab world. The PLO will do its utmost to sustain its struggle in political, military, cultural, information and other fields, pending the establishment of a Palestinian state, he declared.

CSO: 4000/94

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### W. EUROPEAN LEGISLATORS MEET ON PALESTINE ISSUE

OW260354 Beijing XINHUA in English 0251 GMT 26 Mar 83

[Text] The Hague, 25 Mar (XINHUA)--A preparatory conference of West European parliamentarians prior to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine opened at the Dutch Parliament building here today by the Secretary-General of the International Conference, Mrs Lucille Mair.

The two-day preparatory conference, organized by the Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Cooperation in cooperation with the secretariat of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, is intended to provide an opportunity for the West European Parliamentarians to consult on how Western Europe may contribute towards a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. The international conference, sponsored by the U.N. General Assembly, is to be held at the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris from 16 to 27 next August.

A number of prominent guests took the floor at the opening session.

Massamba Sarre (Senegal), chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference and of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, invited West European parliamentarians to contribute actively towards a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem, which takes into account the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

Adnam Omran, deputy secretary-general of the League of Arab states, accused Israel of encroaching upon Arab rights and territories by a string of expansionist wars with assistance from the United States, the superpower that wants to turn Israel into a U.S. strategic base in the Middle East. He called on the West European nations to exert pressure on Israel and the U.S. so as to help recover peace in the Middle East.

Uri Avnery, member of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian peace and co-leader of the "Peace Now" movement who had met PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat not long ago, expressed the conviction that the upsurging peace movement in Israel would finally win over public opinion in his country, just like the anti-war movement had won over in the United States on stopping

the war of aggression in Vietnam. A lot of countries including the superpowers, he said, are involved in the Middle East conflict, but in the final analysis, it is up to the peoples of Israel and Palestine to find a final solution to peace. "Palestine had to find a place on the map," he emphasized.

PLO representative Dr Issam Sartawi, condemned Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the massacres of Palestinian refugees in Beirut. Israel's intention was to eliminate the PLO but failed, he said.

He called on the West European governments to recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people so as to contribute to making peace in the Middle East. West European recognition of the PLO, he said, would put pressure on the United States which is always siding with the Israeli government.

The preparatory conference has received messages of greetings from the president of the West European Parliament and the Commission of Development of the EEC.

CSO: 4000/94

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

U.S.-USSR ARMS REDUCTION TALKS--Geneva, 31 Mar (XINHUA)--The U.S.-Soviet strategic arms reduction talks that had dragged on for nine months adjourned here today. The talks are slated to resume on 8 June. Chief negotiators of both sides declined comment on the talks, but the Soviet delegation head Viktor Karpov told correspondents that the U.S. attitude at the talks was "uncooperative and destructive." Diplomatic sources of the West viewed the talks as still deadlocked. [Text] [OW010932 Beijing XINHUA in English 0750 GMT 1 Apr 83]

U.S. REGISTERS PAYMENTS DEFICIT--Washington, 18 Mar (XINHUA)--The U.S. balance on current account with other countries fell into an 8.093-billion-dollar deficit in 1982 as the merchandise trade deficit worsened, the Commerce Department reported yesterday. Commerce Undersecretary Robert Dederick said the nation's balance of payments deficit on current account was likely to reach more than 20 billion dollars in 1983--well above the 14.8 billion dollar record set in 1978--on account of an even greater trade deficit. U.S. current account deficit had reached 6.103 billion dollars in the fourth quarter of last year, the largest quarterly figure on record. [Text] [OW191104 Beijing XINHUA in English 0750 GMT 19 Mar 83]

SHANGHAI, MILAN FRIENDSHIP AGREEMENT--Pei Xianbai, vice mayor of Shanghai, and (Cacorleone), vice mayor of Milan City, 18 March signed an agreement on promoting friendly exchanges in 1983-1984 on behalf of the two cities. [OW290043 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 18 Mar 83]

AGRO-SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS EXHIBITION--Guangzhou, 23 Mar (XINHUA)--An exhibition of agricultural scientific instruments made abroad opened in Guangzhou today. On display are close to 1,000 instruments used in agriculture, animal husbandry, aquatic production and forestry, which are made by 26 firms in Hong Kong, Japan, Switzerland, Britain, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. This is the first exhibition of its kind ever held in China, said a spokesman for the exhibition. Sponsored by the Tipates International Trading Co. Ltd. of Hong Kong and the Guangdong branch of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, the exhibition is scheduled to end 29 March. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1349 GMT 23 Mar 83 OW]

CSO: 4005/674



## PARTY AND STATE

### ARTICLE STRESSES EDUCATION ON COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Nov 82 p 4

[Article by Gong Mian [7895 0517]: "Fertile Soil for the Continuous Growth of Communist Ideology"]

[Text] At the present time when education in communist ideology is stressed, some comrades ask: "As our society is presently a socialist one, is it not going beyond the stage of its development if we emphasize education in communist ideology?" Is this happening? This question must indeed be clarified.

The ideological system of communism was created early in the era of capitalism, as a product of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Engels made a concise and penetrating statement on this point in his article "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," where he said: "Socialism is no longer regarded as a chance invention from the mind of some genius, but rather as the natural product of the struggle between the two historically engendered classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Its task is no more to theorize on some perfect social order, but rather to study the process of historical economics which of necessity brought these two classes into being and the struggle between them, and furthermore, to seek out from the economic conditions created by the struggle such measures will resolve the conflict." This explains how the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie provided the rich practical experiences for the formation of the ideological system experiences for the formation of the ideological system of communism, and the birth of the ideological system of communism raised the struggle of the proletariat from the stage of a spontaneous struggle to one of conscious struggle and brought the communist movement to a state of flourishing development on a worldwide scale. One further point must also be explained in this context, namely that the struggle of the proletariat in a capitalist society was not the only precondition for the birth of the ideological system of communism, but that there were also the excellent achievements of the minds of mankind in the 19th century that created the conditions enabling the ideological system of communism to be born. Germany's philosophy, England's political science and economics and the utopian socialism of France are the three sources of Marxism. Without these splendid achievements, the creation of the ideological system of communism would have been impossible.

These explanations show that the ideological system of communism had the conditions for its birth prepared by the capitalist society, was therefore also born in the capitalist society and guided the struggle of the proletariat in that society. In his article "State and Revolution" Lenin said: "Communism was born in capitalism, historically it developed out of capitalism and was the result of social forces born in capitalism exerting their effects." This realization is very important because it can make us understand why the proletariat during its struggle in the capitalist society could not do without the guidance of the ideological system of communism. Why cannot the socialist society in the same way relinquish the guidance of the ideological system of communism? Since the new democratic revolution in our country won its victory under the guidance of the ideological system of communism, the socialist society should all the more engage in its construction guided by the ideological system of communism. This also answers the question of whether there is any excess in doing so or going beyond present conditions.

The socialist society is the initial stage of the communist society, but its policies must not be mixed up with the policies of the communist society. If the two are mixed up, it will inevitably lead to the ruin of the entire socialist construction. The communist tendencies of 1958, when policies of a communist stage of society were applied to a socialist society, resulted in enormous losses to the entire national economy. This was a profound lesson. However, at the socialist stage of society it is necessary continuously to raise the people's communist consciousness, not only as a requirement of the socialist construction, but also to provide conditions for the future transition to a communist society. It is even more important to prepare the socialist society to be the fertile soil for the propagation of communist ideology. In the capitalist, semicolonial and semifeudal society of China, it was the existence of a proletariat and the guidance of the communist party that enabled communist ideology to nurture hundreds of millions of people and inspire them consciously to struggle for the liberation of mankind. Then is it not absurd to talk of exceeding our social stage when we engage in education in communist ideology in a socialist society with a system of public ownership of the means of production? The new party statute gives a clear answer to this question in its general principles, it says: "Fundamentally speaking, the socialist system has eliminated the contradictions inherent in capitalism per se, which capitalism was unable to overcome, and is possessed of an excellence that is incomparably higher than capitalism. Socialism has enabled the people truly to become masters of the country, increasingly to break away from the old customs formed under the exploitative systems or under the system of private ownership of the means of production, increasingly to raise the communist consciousness, and form common ideals, a common morality and a common sense of discipline." As the socialist society creates these excellent conditions for the propagation of the communist ideology, can we possibly forget the responsibilities duly shouldered by communists and abandon the communist education of the broad masses of the people?

Why do some comrades believe that education in communist ideology at the present time is beyond the present stage of our society. One important

reason is that they do not differentiate between education in communist ideology and the implementation of socialist policies at the present stage. Every time that propaganda of communist ideology is mentioned, they believe that a change is to be made in our socialist policies. This is a misunderstanding. We must, on the one hand, engage justly and forcefully in propaganda of the communist ideology and continuously raise the people's communist consciousness, but, on the other hand, also strictly implement our socialist policies; both activities must not be confused and mixed up. However, we must also not forget that the socialist policies are guided by communist ideology and the ultimate goal is the realization of a communist society. If we would forget this point, we would not be able to truly understand the socialist policies. Those comrades who believe that education in communist ideology exceeds the present stage of our society are not clearly aware of the relationship of these two things to each other.

The documents from the 12th CPC National Congress clearly point to the necessity to engage in education in communist ideology, integrating theory and practice, and a conscientious study of these documents will correctly enlighten us on this point.

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CSO: 4005/493

PARTY AND STATE

'XINHUA RIBAO' REPORTS ON FOUNDING OF JIANGSU LAW SOCIETY

Inaugural Meeting

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by Xing Yinong [6717 0076 6593]: "Jiangsu Law Society Concludes Its Inaugural Meeting; Elects Board of Directors, Hong Peilin [3163 3099 7207] as Honorary President, Wei Yongyi [7279 3057 5030] as President"]

[Text] The inaugural meeting of the Jiangsu Law Society concluded its inaugural meeting on the 28th.

The meeting passed in principle the "Statutes of the Jiangsu Law Society," elected the first board of directors of the society and chose Hong Peilin as its honorary president. At the first plenary session of its first board meeting, Wei Yongyi was elected president and the following eight comrades were elected vice presidents: Lin Haoran [2651 3185 3544], Zhao Yide [6392 0001 1795], Lin Yizhao [2651 1585 2507], Xu Fushi [6079 4569 1395], Bao Hanqing [7637 3352 7230], Gong Yue [7895 6885], Qiu Lu [6727 6424] and Li Delai [2621 1795 0171].

The Jiangsu Law Society is the jurisprudential organization of mass character of our province. Its purpose is to rally together all law workers, teachers of law and legal research personnel throughout our province in upholding the four fundamental principles, in upholding the principle of linking theory with practice, in implementing the "hundred schools" policy and in an integration of the particular conditions of our province, launch research activities in the laws, jurisprudence and socialist legal system of our country and our province, to strengthen the scholarly exchanges and mutual understanding among our jurisprudential circles, in order to promote socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system, develop socialist jurisprudence, promote stability and unity and contribute toward the socialist modernization drive.

On the morning of the 28th, Zhou Ze [0719 3419], provincial party secretary and deputy provincial governor, and Hong Peilin, member of the provincial party standing committee and deputy provincial governor, called on the entire body of delegates attending the meeting.

## Expressions of Good Will

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by XINHUA DAILY commentator: "Wishes for a Prosperous Development in the Work of Our Law Society"]

[Text] The Jiangsu Provincial Law Society has been formally inaugurated; this is an important event on the political science and law front and of significance for the legal circles of our province. We hope that all comrades of the legal circles throughout our province will adhere to the guiding principles of the 12th CPC National Congress, achieve new successes in the building up of our legal system and will increase the prosperous and flourishing developments in all research undertakings in the field of jurisprudence.

Socialist jurisprudence is a new, presently developing science, which is playing an important role in strengthening the socialist legal system, in consolidating the country's system of people's democratic dictatorship, in promoting the socialist economy as well as ideological and cultural developments. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Congress, the construction of our legal system has made important progress and is being gradually completed and perfected. This is the major condition for achieving a long period of good government and peace for our country. Inspired by the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, the people of the whole country are now making a concerted effort to initiate in a comprehensive way a new situation in our socialist modernizations, to build up our country into a highly cultured, high democratic socialist state. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The buildup of material and spiritual civilization must in every way rely on the continued development of socialist democracy for its guarantee and support." "The buildup of socialist democracy must be closely integrated with the buildup of the socialist legal system so as to institutionalize and legalize the socialist democracy." This not only raises new and higher demands on legal research, but opens up broad prospects for people in the legal profession to display fully their intelligence and ability. In the building of our socialist material and spiritual civilization, which we are not vigorously promoting, there is ample scope for effective legal research.

Fundamentally speaking, law is the expression of the will of that class which has gained victory and seized political power in the state. Our jurisprudence has socialist law as the target of its research. Its ultimate goal is to promote the continuous perfection of the socialist system and the continuous progress in all undertakings of socialist construction, consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship, upholding the leadership of the Communist Party and upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The work of legal research must uphold the four fundamental principles, otherwise it would lose its progressive ideals and goals, would be without any motivating spirit and would certainly lead to erroneous conclusions. We must use the Marxist viewpoint of the state and of law in our studies of the important topics of legal theory and

practice that urgently require solutions, and must continuously broaden the road of our legal research. At present, our legal research must focus on the various new problems that have arisen in the field of judicial administration and legislation during the progress of our four modernizations. In the ideological field and in our actual work, we must serve the buildup of a highly developed material and spiritual civilization with a heightened consciousness and greater clarity. We must bring the authority of the law fully into play as we struggle to realize the fundamental turn for the better in the financial and economic conditions of our country, in the general mood of society and in the work style of the party, as our jurisprudence must also make new contributions in its legal research.

The Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress is just now in progress. The formulation and adoption of our new Constitution initiates a new phase in the development of our socialist democracy and in the construction of our legal system. This sets new and higher demands for our legal research. The inauguration of the Jiangsu Law Society will provide more favorable conditions for a mobilization and organization of all forces of the legal circles throughout our province. We are confident that it will be able to create a new situation for legal research in our province. We hope all comrades in the field of jurisprudence throughout our province will, through their actual practice, make efforts to explore things that show a regular lawlike nature in the field of jurisprudence, raise them to the state of theories, use them in turn to direct and guide practice and thus reap a rich harvest in the field of legal research.

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CSO: 4005/493

## PARTY AND STATE

### CADRE SUPPORT FOR REFORM ENCOURAGED

Nanjing QUNZHONG [THE MASSES] in Chinese No 1, 5 Jan 83 pp 1-2

["Comment on Ideology" Column by Xue Song 185 2646]: "Deepen Understanding and Boldly Reform"

[Text] Now that a new year has arrived, we should make new headway in every endeavor. The responsibility which lies before us is extremely heavy, and the problems which must be resolved are many, but we have to grasp the heart of the issue. One of our main responsibilities is to implement organizational reform according to the strategy of the Central Committee.

Organizational reform is a revolution. But this is a revolution aimed at organs and systems, not a revolution aimed at people. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's above-mentioned thesis not only points out clearly the nature of organizational reform, it also includes the attitude we should have toward it. Since this is a revolution, it requires that we must have the determination to resolutely implement the reform, and that we can only advance, not retreat; we can only use as a standard of judgment whether or not it will benefit the building of the four modernizations, and not merely consider personal gain and loss; and we can only advance in the face of difficulty, we cannot be hesitant, and even less can we give up halfway. However, at present, some comrades do not sufficiently understand the necessity and urgency of this revolution. Some look at problems through the old conventions and impressions, thinking that organizational reform is just the same old story, nothing but abolish and amalgamate, disperse and incorporate, with the result that "the more organizations are simplified, the larger they become, and the more they are restructured, the more complex they become," and so they do not have enough confidence in reforming. Some, viewing the problem from their own narrow little worlds, scheming this way and that, always feeling that their own "temples" cannot be removed and that their "Bodhisattvas" cannot be decreased, have little determination to restructure. If these kinds of ideological understanding and mental attitude are not changed, they will definitely influence the smooth implementation of organizational reform.

In this organizational reform, objective inevitability is impressively reflected. For the past 10 - 20 years, for various reasons, the lack of separation between party and government and between government and business, over-centralization of power, life-tenure for the cadre position of leadership,

organizational overlapping, numerous departments, overstaffing, the vagueness of duties, disregarding efficiency etc.--abuses have daily become more serious. Today not only are they so serious as to interfere with the full development of the socialist system's superiority, they have already become an extremely great hindrance to the overall initiation of the new situation for building socialist modernization. Now that the situation has developed to the point of "what people can no longer tolerate, neither can our party," if we do not solve these problems, "we may lose both the party and the country." Of course, we harbour no doubt that the socialist system can depend upon its own strength in undergoing self-adjustment and self-reform, and in overcoming all kinds of defects and abuses as mentioned above. However, to be capable of overcoming them is one thing; how to overcome them is another. Because there is no definite model or ready-made program, and because we cannot follow some of the methods we ourselves used under those conditions of the Revolutionary War period, we have to grope for the answers in actual practice. Only by undergoing continuous self-adjustment and reforms will we be able to gradually establish organs, institutions, systems and work-style which conform to realistic conditions and developmental needs, and which will be effective in their execution. Gradually we will overcome defects and abuses in the relations of production that are not suited to the development of productive forces and in the superstructure which are not compatible with the economic base, and those that are not beneficial to social progress. In the past, we have gone through several periods of reform, and, furthermore, we have repeated ourselves.

Because at that time we were still in the period of initiating socialist construction, some defects and abuses, such as those enumerated above, had not yet been exposed, while others had been exposed, but only indistinctly, because our understanding of the significance of organizational reform and its extreme difficulty was incomplete, and our estimations were imperfect, and, furthermore, because of the sabotage of those two anti-revolutionary groups of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, the long-term existence of the mistake of "Leftism" in the party's leadership, and the limitations of our experience, each time we were unable to stabilize the accomplishments of organizational restructuring. Now then, how should we regard these repetitions? Xunzi said: "Though the way be short, without going forward, one will not arrive at his destination; though the task be small, without acting upon it, one will never accomplish it." If one does not practice and personally apply himself, then the correct answers and the experience of success will not fall from heaven. When people endeavor to accomplish something, they do their best to avoid repeating it, but often they cannot avoid repetition. There is a famous saying by Dietzgen which states: "Repetition is the mother of all learning." It is precisely our experience of repetition that has provided us with "a lesson to learn," and has made us become even more intelligent and self-confident. In short, this reform not only follows the historical trend, conforms to the aspirations of the people and meets the developmental needs of the society, it also has lessons from past experience. If only we are firmly resolved, we can certainly overcome every kind of hindrance and difficulty, and obtain a satisfactory result.



This organizational reform is a significant strategic policy formulated by the party's Central Committee after a long period of profound deliberation and fermentation. These past few years, in several areas of systems reform, such as in reforming the administrations of agriculture, industry, economy and foreign trade; changing the methods of over centralization of power; the elimination of de facto life-tenure for the cadre leadership, and so on. The Party Central Committee has implemented a set of projects and achieved a great deal of success. This reform is a continuation and development of the systems reform of the past few years. If one claims that a state of "showing meager results" was found following the organizational restructuring of the past, then the situation is already different now. Since crushing the "Gang of Four," and, particularly, since the Third and Sixth Plenary Sessions of the 11th Party Central Committee, where the whole party's Central Committee leadership began an overall rectification and correctly assessed the experiences of history since the founding of the state, the party's line, guiding principles, and policies have already gotten back on the track of Marxism; our state's main political principle of socialist modernizations is certain, the task of rectifying the guiding ideology is already completed and our nation's economy, having already gone through its initial stages of readjustment, is on a track of healthy development. The subjective and objective factors for reform are already at hand. Ever since our problems first rose, the Party's Central Committee has thought that if we could only reform with determination, grasp the ripe opportunity and progress step by step, there would be assurance that we would not just go around and around in circles. If we can only follow the steps decided upon by the Central Committee and advance resolutely and systematically, we will arrive at our anticipated goal. This prediction has already been confirmed by the success of the initial stages of organizational reform within the first rank party and state organs of the Central Committee. The ministries and commissions of the State Council, its directly subordinate departments, and its administrative offices have already been cut back from 100 to 60, the body of the entire working personnel has been reduced by about one-third. Based on the statistics of 38 ministries and commissions, the number of ministers, vice ministers and directors have decreased 67 percent. Newly chosen middle-aged and young cadres make up 32 percent of the new leading cadres, a decrease in average age of 6 years. There have been major changes in the conditions of organizational unwieldiness, the aging of the leadership and overstaffing, and work efficiency has been upgraded. This situation demonstrates that the so-called "it's just the same old changing back and forth" idea does not conform to reality. As for concerns about a future relapse, they are also unfounded. While streamlining the organizations, both administrative and judiciary means must be used to stipulate the duties and limitations of power in every department and at every level of the government and to stipulate the duties and scope of every committee and worker in the internal divisions of the administrative organs. We must establish a strict examination system and a system of rewards and penalties for state workers. We must have clear regulations concerning terms of office of leadership personnel and the retirement and quit and rest policy adopted to rejuvenate cadres of old cadres. After these have been acted upon and implemented by the administration and judiciary, the situations of eating from "the common pot," carrying the "iron rice-bowl," and managing to get "lifetime tenure" will undergo fundamental changes. Not only will the

evil practices of procrastination of work, the mutual shirking of duty and bureaucratic red-tapeism and the yamen work-style be unable to grow, but the possibility of the organs again becoming so unwieldy will also diminish.

This time, the organizational reform has the obvious characteristic of being a comprehensive handling of organs, systems, cadre system and cadre work-style. Not only do we have to revolutionize organizational unwieldiness, we must also revolutionize unreasonable institutions and systems, and revolutionize bureaucratism in every shape and form. Accomplishing this revolution, eliminating all kinds of defects and abuses in the structure of party and state organs and institutions and realizing the revolutionizing, rejuvenation, enlightenment and specialization of the leading cadres will enable our organizational structure to run smoothly, adjust coordinatively, overcome bureaucratism and upgrade work efficiency. We still have to consolidate the organizational reform, do a good job of making plans for old cadres, training cadres in rotation, reducing staff, and other projects. After that, it remains for us to begin to reform the economic system and other areas. Neither in breadth nor depth is the restructuring of the past comparable to this one. The heart of the problem in this reform is to build every level of leadership, in accordance with the principle of cadres being first-rate and the orientation of cadre units toward the four modernizations, into a resolute and powerful struggle command unit capable of initiating new conditions. For this important event with overall consequences, we must have determination, and, from the beginning, have confidence in certain victory while going forward steadily. Those few things which we have not viewed accurately, we must continue to investigate; however, for those we have viewed accurately and for those reforms which will bring certain improvements, we need not hesitate. We must clear-headedly realize that the habits and traditions of small-scale production exist not only among farmers, but at every level of society, including party and state cadres. Sticking to the old ways and following routine are simply the most significant traits and manifestations of small-scale production. When Lenin led the restructuring of the organs of the Soviet state, he had very sharp criticism for people who stick to the old ways and hesitate to move forward. He said: In social, economic and political relations, we carried the revolution to "the extreme," but in carrying out very small changes we also go to excess in keeping our hands and feet drawn back. "In our daily lives we have both the trait of extraordinary heroism and a psyche which fears the slightest of changes." These words of Lenin are very worthy of our deep consideration.

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CSO: 4005/64

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEED TO UNDERSTAND, IMPLEMENT NEW CONSTITUTION STRESSED

#### Statement by Judiciary Official

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by Liu Peng [0491 5570], President of the Provincial Higher People's Court: "Strengthen Socialist Democracy and the Legal System"]

[Text] The new constitution scientifically sums up our historical experiences since the establishment of our government and is the chief statute for our country's good government, peace, and security during the new historical era. The implementation of this constitution is bound to greatly arouse the political zeal of the people of the whole country to carry out socialist modernization, and it will provide further guarantees for the political stability and economic prosperity of the country.

The new constitution on the one hand emphasizes stronger socialist democracy and stipulates that the people may, according to the provisions of the law and through various channels and forms, administer the affairs of the state, manage all economic, cultural and other social affairs, and enjoy broad democratic rights and freedoms in political, economic, cultural and educational matters. The constitution also stipulates clearly and distinctly that every citizen is prohibited from misusing his rights and freedoms in a way that would harm the interests of the state, the society, and the collective and that would harm the lawful rights and interests of other citizens. These stipulations manifest the principles of democracy and socialism in our constitution; they are the institutionalization and legalization of socialist democracy. The constitution reinstitutes the rule that all citizens are equal before the law, and that no organization or individual may have privileges over and above the constitution and the law. To guarantee the socialist democratic system and the rights and interests of the citizens, the constitution stipulates the protection by the state of the maintenance of public security; the suppression of treasonable and other counterrevolutionary activities; the punishment of activities that endanger public security, or damage the socialist economy, and of other criminal activities; and the punishment and reform of criminal elements. These regulations strengthen the socialist legal system in every possible direction, such as with respect to the legislation, execution, and observance of the law.

The new constitution also stipulates that the people's courts of the PRC are the judicial organs of the state, and that the judicial activities of the people's courts must observe the principles laid down in the constitution and must act effectively in criminal, civil, and economic cases. In their capacity as judicial organs of the state, the people's courts must, under the uniform guidance of the party committees, firmly uphold mutual coordination and mutual interaction with the public security and procuratorial organs in the correct execution of the duties entrusted to them by the constitution. They must continue to persist in punishing, according to law and as sternly and speedily as possible, all important active criminal elements that endanger public order, and then must resolutely crack down on all criminal activities in the economic field. They must also effectively launch all other judicial work and furthermore, through their judicial activities, educate the citizens to consciously develop a deep affection for their fatherland and to abide by the constitution and the law; and they must educate citizens to pay attention to and stress morality and cultured behavior, to promptly close all loopholes for crime, and to take precautions against the possible occurrence of crimes. The people's courts and their personnel at all levels must take the constitution as the fundamental guideline for all their own activities. They must conscientiously study the new constitution, actively propagate the new constitution, resolutely implement the new constitution, investigate closely, according to the law, criminal responsibility for criminal violations of the constitution and the law, and wage a hard struggle for the protection of the socialist material and spiritual civilization that we are constructing and for the creation of a new overall situation in judicial work.

#### Role of CYL

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by Wang Julu [3769 1565 4389]: "Be Models in Maintaining the Dignity of the Constitution"]

[Text] The new constitution is the overall law which integrates the thinking and the will of the people of the whole country, and is the legal guarantee for the people of the whole country, and is the legal guarantee for the all-round development of the moral character, intelligence, and physical well-being of our country's youths. The Communist Youth League, the advanced mass organization of our youths led by the party, must become a model for propagating, observing, and implementing the new constitution.

The new constitution clearly and distinctly stipulates: "The state, through universal education in ideals, morality and culture, discipline and the legal system, and through the formulation and implementation of various regulations and pledges, will strengthen within different limits among the masses in town and country the construction of our socialist spiritual civilization." The new constitution turns the spread of education in ideals, morality, culture, discipline, and the legal system into a realistic measure to construct a socialist spiritual civilization. The

fundamental task of the Communist Youth League is to educate youths by means of communist ideology and nurture youths to become a generation of new persons with ideals, morality, culture, and a sense of discipline. In its study of the new constitution, the Communist Youth League must first of all turn the universal education in ideals, morality and discipline into reality. Having the 14 million youths of the entire province acquire ideals, morality, culture, and a sense of socialist material and spiritual civilization and socialist democracy. The communist ideology is the core of the socialist spiritual civilization. We shall make every effort to promote the new mentality, morality, and customs of communism, to propagate among the youths the new men and new things that shine with communist ideology and the advanced model achievements.

In accordance with the actual conditions of youths, we must presently impart the study and propaganda of the new constitution to the whole body of league members and youths and undertake a broad and thorough education in the legal system, in the rights and duties of citizens, and in the morality of citizens, so as to have the large number of our youths become aware of the basic spirit of the constitution and of the major regulations, fully understand the important role of the constitution in the country's political life and the necessity for every young citizen to observe the constitution, and understand that the constitution is our implementation of the great program determined at the 12th CPC National Congress and is an important guarantee for the initiation of a new overall situation with regard to our socialist modernization. The large number of Youth League members and youths will thus consciously protect the dignity of the constitution and be in the forefront of those who observe the provisions of the constitution, and they will gradually temper themselves into noble-minded citizens with ideals, morality, culture, and a sense of discipline.

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CSO: 4005/469

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES HOLD CONFERENCE

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by Qi Xiangquan [7871 3276 3123]: "Liaoning Judicial Administrative Organizations Hold Ideological and Political Work Conference"]

[Text] The Liaoning judicial administrative organizations held an ideological and political work conference in Anshan from the 9th to the 12th. The conference commended 18 advanced units and 111 advanced workers of the provincial judicial administrative organization and awarded certificates of merit, prizes, and honor certificates.

Our provincial judicial administrative organization at all levels was reconstituted at the beginning of 1980. In the 3 years since then, under the guidance of party committees and governments at all levels, positive contributions have been made to the conscientious implementation of the political line, principles, and policies of the CPC Central Committee since the Third Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee in strengthening socialist democracy and the buildup of the legal system, in promoting the constant improvement of public order, and in ensuring the smooth progress of socialist modernization projects. By now our province has built up a fairly complete judicial administrative system and organized a contingent of judicial personnel that can initially meet the demands of the work that is being encountered. The purpose of calling the present meeting was to sum up and mutually exchange experiences in ideological and political work within judicial administrative work, step up the formation of a judicial administrative contingent, and ensure the smooth development of the new overall situation in judicial administrative work.

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CSO: 4005/469

## PARTY AND STATE

### SERIOUS HANDLING OF PEOPLE'S LETTERS, VISITS URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Mar 83 p 6

[Article by Xiao An [5135 1489]]

[Text] At the fifth meeting of the Fifth CPPCC, committee member Lin Hengyuan [2651 0077 0337] said: "Letters and visits from the people are very important. However, some letters are forwarded to the writers' units, thereby not only failing to solve the problems, but also creating a side effect. Today, the phenomenon of having nowhere to make an appeal for one's grievances still exists." It is an issue calling for attention.

Whether the practical problems brought up by the masses are appropriately solved and whether their views and suggestions are correctly handled are the yardsticks on the quality of the work on letters and visits from the people. The basic reason why some departments and units shelve the letters from the people indefinitely, copy and transmit them verbatim, or even forward them into the hands of those being exposed, subjecting the writers to retaliation, is because they have no respect for the people's democratic rights and no consciousness in serving the people.

The new constitution stipulates: "All powers of the PRC belong to the people." "Citizens have the right to criticize and make suggestions to any state organs and state personnel; they have the right to make appeals, accusations and informations against any state organ and state personnel for violation of law and delinquency of duty." Letters and visits are one way for the people to exercise their democratic rights and participate in managing the various tasks of the party and the state. Therefore, whether their letters and visits are correctly treated and handled is a major issue of whether their position in the political life of the party and the state is recognized and the constitution implemented.

The relations of a cadre of the proletarian political party or a work personnel of the people's state with the masses can only be those between a public servant and his masters. The essence of a public servant must be embodied in his wholehearted service to the people. It is impossible

for a leader who refuses to heed the voice of the people and feel a concern over their difficulties to win their trust. A leader of any level must always maintain his close links with the masses and consciously accept their supervision. In this sense, whether an area or a department pays serious attention to the people's letters and visits, accepts their criticisms and supervision and solves their actual problems constitute a practical test of its leadership work and an important signpost of the quality of its party style.

The problems reported in the letters and visits are sometimes right and sometimes wrong, sometimes rational and sometimes irrational. The responsibility of a leader is to analyze and assess them with the correct viewpoint, skillfully eliminate the false and retain the true, and assimilate the rational elements. In regard to those [letter writers] who should be criticized and educated for starting rumors to create trouble, fomenting discord, maliciously injuring others and indulging in ultra-egoism, they must be justly and forcefully criticized and educated; in regard to those who make false accusations and violate the criminal law, they must be punished according to law. The goal is to protect the democratic rights of the majority and the basic interests of the people.

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CSO: 4005/665



IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL WORK KEEPING PACE WITH REFORM STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] The experience of the Yingkou medium plate plant tells us that combining the introduction of the operation responsibility system with ideological-political work will activate more fully the enthusiasm and creativity of enterprise staff and workers and channel the development of reform in the right direction.

Ideological-political work must keep pace with reform. When introducing the operation responsibility system, we must arouse the proprietary interest of the staff and workers and make them stand on the forefront of reform. With the progress of reform, we should, in conjunction with the ideological problems among the staff and workers, perform ideological-political work with definite objects in mind. Currently, we should aim at the new problems emerging in the course of reform. Some people, for instance, have the wrong idea that reform is only for the purpose of increasing the income of the unit and the individual. We must guide the staff and workers to make computations and understand the reasons, and realize that the goal of reforming the systems and introducing contracting is to liberate the productive forces, make more contributions to the country and seek more benefits for the people. We must guide them to focus reform on ensuring the maximum benefit to the state and safeguarding the interests of the consumers. Under this premise, the enterprise will receive medium benefit, and the individual small benefit. This principle should be followed in contracting.

Ideological-political work must thread through the entire course of reform. The proper combination of operation responsibility system with ideological-political work will improve people's awareness as well as solving the practical problems, and promote a spiritual civilization as well as enhancing the economic benefit. In the course of introducing a responsibility system with "coordinated collective above-norm piece rate bonus" as the main form, the Yingkou medium plate plant taught the staff and workers to uphold the "three considerations," set rational advanced quotas, introduced the system of encouraging the diligent and punishing

the lazy, and launched activities to render meritorious service to the four modernizations. Its production and its profit and taxes turned over to the state quadrupled in 3 years, and new people and new things emerged in large numbers. Praised as a "spiritually civilized plant," it is a clear and convincing proof.

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CSO: 4005/665

## PARTY AND STATE

### TOWNSHIP SEPARATES PARTY, GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Wu Zhongfu [0702 0022 4395]: "Clear Division of Labor among Party, Government and Business Unfolds New Phase in Work"]

[Text] In carrying out the system reform, Banzhuyuan township in Sichuan's Xindu county upheld the clear division of labor among the party, the government and business, each performing its own functions. The township party committee concentrated its energy on important matters, managed party affairs, strengthened party building, and enlivened the agricultural, industrial and commercial economy, thereby unfolding a new phase in all items of work.

In the past, the lack of distinction among the party, the government and business was rather pronounced in the township. The commune party committees monopolized everything, forming the situation where everything was decided by the secretary. Instead of strengthening the party's leadership, replacing the government and business by the party weakened it.

In the spring of last year, the higher level party committee sent a work team to help the township educate the party members on party spirit, party discipline and party style. Experiences were summarized in conjunction with the issue of how the leading group should adapt to the development of the rural situation. All felt deeply that the lack of distinction among the party, the government and business was a major flaw in the system. Thereupon, the new township party committee demanded a clear division among the three, each with its own functions and authority. Giving a free hand to the township government in government affairs and to the industrial, agricultural and commercial joint corporation in economic work, it mainly concentrated on the implementation of major policies and principles; exercised centralized leadership, coordinated the relations among the administrative, economic and mass organizations, and made sure that they each played their own roles; devoted itself to ideological and organizational construction, and reinforced the education and management of the party members and cadres; inspected and supervised

the basic level party, administrative, economic and mass organizations and party members and cadres in their implementation of party and state policies and decrees, economic plans, business contracts and personnel arrangements.

In the past year, the township party committee regularly studied the major issues in government and economic work, made appropriate decisions, and ensured the correct implementation of the party's principles and policies. The township government basically moved on to the right track in its work, and the masses formed the habit of approaching the proper units of the government for their affairs. Agricultural, industrial and commercial enterprises also followed the principles laid down by the party committee and independently handled the issues of developing the rural economy. After freeing itself from routine work, the township party committee strengthened party building and concentrated on overall rectification centering on the party style. The party organizations throughout the township firmly followed the system of "three meetings and one class." The various party branches organized the members to study the "Guiding Principles" and the new party constitution, to make comparisons, and to examine and evaluate. On the basis of party style rectification, the system of linking party members with residential households was set up throughout the township. Based on concrete conditions, each party member formed links with two or three households for the purpose of explaining policies to them, clarifying their ideological conditions and helping them improve awareness and solve the difficulties. At the end of last year, 80 out of the 437 party members in the township were adjudged superior party members. Under the motivation and influence of the party members, the building of the "two civilizations" throughout the township made a great progress, agricultural, sideline and industrial enterprises all improved, and 3 civilized villages, 22 civilized brigades and 1,601 civilized households emerged.

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CSO: 4005/665

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### CHENG MING ARTICLE ON 'FOUR UPHOLDS' APPRAISED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 65, Mar 83 pp 61-63

[Article by Niu Meng [3662 5804]: "It Is Necessary To Probe Into 'Comment on the "Four Upholds""]

[Text] The article "Comment on the 'Four Upholds,'" hereafter shortened to "Comment," was written by Mr Wen Hui, chief editor of CHENG MING and published in issue Nos 41 through 49 of this magazine. Although the writer put a lot of painstaking effort into this article and revealed the straightforwardness of his motive, because of the article's strong flavor of academic research, it ran to 60,000 to 70,000 words in all and had to be divided up and carried in six issues, so at the time it did not lead the ordinary reader to study it deeply.

Recently, because of the implications of the "Tai Chen incident," opposition to the "four upholds" became an indictment against CHENG MING, and therefore "Comment" drew the interest of certain personages. In its issue No 64, CHENG MING published Mr Liu Sung-mang's article "One Should Not Cudgel 'Comment on the "Four Upholds,"" which briefly outlined and analyzed the spirit and nature of "Comment" and gave it full approval. Although I agree with two points --that "Comment" should not be cudged and that within its scope the inquiry into it should not be equated with opposition to the "four upholds"--because "Comment's" scope of inquiry embraces some questions on the major tenets and principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the writer could not expound and analyze every question from a Marxist-Leninism standpoint, therefore it was hard for him to avoid one-sided or erroneous places in his viewpoints and proposals. So, I fear, there is also value in making an inquiry into "Comment."

#### I. Should the "Four Principles" Be Upheld?

"Comment" maintains: "The intention behind the formulation of the "four upholds" was probably good,...they are likely to effect a definite result in showing that the Communist Party and its present political power have not deteriorated and to play a definite role in setting people's minds at rest and in stabilizing the overall situation." From this we see that the writer of "Comment," bearing in mind the current specific political background that the Chinese communists are operating against, gives his approval to the "four upholds," since both the intention behind them and their result are good. Obviously, this view is beyond reproach.

However, "Comment" then immediately switches to another subject saying: "The 'four upholds' are really somewhat like the four-line poem 'Somnolence,'" because "every one of them contains places that still await clarification, probing, and deliberation." Therefore, the writer advocates: "Only through disputation, debate, and inquiry can we clarify what things the Chinese communists want to 'uphold,' and then at this time can we talk about 'upholding' or not 'upholding' this slogan." The obvious implication is that he does not "uphold" the slogan.

With regard to this kind of logic and reasoning, I myself fell for a short time into a state of "somnolence." Since a slogan's intention is good and it will have a definite role and result, why can't it be "upheld"? If any theory or principle had to await thorough clarification, viz, until there were no places in it at all that needed "clarification, probing, and deliberating"--presumably absolute truth--before it could be upheld, then, in the final analysis, in the present world, what ideology, theory, principle, ethic, or concept could be "upheld"? And, with regard to ideological things, if one does not occupy the same standpoint and study with the same viewpoint, then it will be very hard to achieve clarification through so-called inquiry. Take, for example, the slogan "Uphold peace and oppose war." It is highly unlikely that any one would oppose it! However, with the logic and analysis of "Comment," it also could be "somnolent" because people do not have a unified way of looking at and unified criterion for what is meant by "peace." When the Soviet Union dispatched troops to Afghanistan, it said this was for "peace"; when Israel sent its army into Lebanon, this was also for "peace"...in the world, what authoritative answer is there to the question of "peace"? However, nobody has ever opposed the slogan "Uphold peace." If we were to wait until all humankind were clear about and united on what "peace" is, then it would be superfluous to "uphold" it.

Therefore, I think that, fundamentally speaking, the Chinese communists' upholding of the four principles is beyond reproach. Taken as such, a principle must be upheld; but how to realize and how to uphold this principle requires a great deal of probing and study. These are two questions of a different nature, and they certainly should not be confused.

## II. Is the Principle or Pattern of "Socialism" To Be Upheld?

The first of the "four upholds" is to uphold the "socialist road."

Speaking of "socialism," there have really been numerous sects of a wide variety since the 19th century.

"Comment" maintains: "Scientific socialism, as one of the three component parts of Marxism-Leninism, although a more completed, more perfected theoretical system than all other socialisms, is to a very great degree in the nature of a forecast and a principle. In Marx' works, one will not find a specific pattern for socialist revolution and construction."

This passage per se is, of course, not in error. However, to try by this to prove that because socialism does not have a specific pattern it is "somnolent,"

cannot and should not be "upheld." Obviously, there are problems about this way of speaking. The first problem is: in "upholding the socialist road," is what is to be upheld the principle of taking the socialist road or a certain "pattern" of the socialist road? The second problem is: what the Chinese communists advocate upholding is precisely the "principle" of scientific socialism and not any "specific pattern" of it, and therefore whether or not they have a specific pattern for socialist revolution and construction is not identical in meaning to upholding the socialist road. The third problem is: even if there is no specific pattern for socialism in Marx's works, socialist revolutions were, after all, brought about in some countries. Then, without a specific pattern for building socialism, how can one account for the fact that the building of socialism was successful in some countries?

Actually, this principle of the "socialist road," which must be upheld, does not permit the taking of the capitalist road, and this is perfectly clear. The fundamental difference between socialism and capitalism is their systems of ownership of the means of production, so how can it be said that this principle should not be upheld? How can socialism be upheld? What "pattern" suits China's national condition? What stage is China now at in its development of socialism? Naturally, these questions must be constantly probed, and then one will be able to make socialism constantly advance amid the endless flow of truth, but there is not the slightest contradiction between this kind of probing and the upholding of the socialist road, and even less should one, by the probing, oppose "upholding."

"What are required to be upheld are comparatively real, comparatively specific, comparatively clear-cut things, and also things that practice has proven to be effective." Of course this statement is fine, but if nothing could be "upheld" until practice had proved it to be effective, then this would truly be too extreme and also would not conform to commonsense. If a mountain-climbing team proposes to "uphold" the scaling of Mount Qomolangma, its goal is clear, but what route it takes can, based on actual circumstances, be constantly studied and corrected, and even if the team fails it can make another try. We cannot, because of failures, negate the "upholding" of the goal, and even less can we negate our confidence that if we uphold our goal we will attain it in the end.

### III. We Must Uphold the "Essence" of the Proletarian Dictatorship

I generally do not oppose the slogan "uphold the proletarian dictatorship." However, I rather agree with "Comment's" viewpoint on how to understand the essence of "proletarian dictatorship" before upholding it.

"Comment" holds: From looking at the expositions of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on proletarian dictatorship, one can say that the essence of proletarian dictatorship is "true democracy," "Paris Commune-type democracy," or "proletarian democracy." Therefore, if there is no true democracy, there is no proletarian dictatorship. Just as Lenin said: "If a victorious socialism does not put true democracy into effect, it will not be able to preserve the victory it has obtained." So, in upholding proletarian dictatorship, we must uphold its essence, i.e., uphold true democracy!

However, the "proletarian dictatorship" upheld in the past by the Chinese communists was not the original goods of Marx, Engels, and Lenin but rather the goods bearing the "Stalin + Mao Zedong" trademark. The essence of the Stalin- and Mao Zedong-style proletarian dictatorship is not democracy but dictatorship--autocratic rule; it does not cause the proletariat to "win democracy" but lands all the people in class struggle--killing each other! Of course, the more this kind of dictatorship is upheld, the more harm it does! Therefore, although I do not oppose the slogan "uphold proletarian dictatorship," I do oppose the "upholding" of the "proletarian dictatorship" created and developed by Mao Zedong.

Naturally, in speaking of "democracy," one unavoidably is led to make a probe. What is true democracy? I fear that in today's world there is no true, authoritative answer. What is called "proletarian democracy"? What is called "bourgeois democracy"? What is called "people's democracy"? What is called "true democracy"? Unavoidable, I fear, the interpretations are so varied that it is difficult to decide which one is right.

In my view, there is no country in today's world of which one can say that it possesses true democracy. In America, which claims to be a democratic country of the West, in many states white people enjoy much more democracy than black people, not to mention the country's original inhabitants, the Indians. As for what the Chinese communist call "proletarian democracy," if one examines the practice of it over the past 30 years, I really do not dare to engage in compliments, and it is difficult to dream of any time when it will be able to be a hundredfold more democratic than "western democracy"! In brief, I tend to this kind of viewpoint: if one says that socialism is truly superior to capitalism, then first of all this superiority should be embodied in its democratic aspect, and only by attaining true democracy will it be able to be embodied in a system of government in which the proletariat--the broad masses of people--are the masters. On this question, "Comment's" probe is very enlightening!

#### IV. "Uphold the Party's Leadership" Is Not Open to Doubt

Why must the party's leadership be upheld? This question can be inquired into from two aspects, the "general" and the "particular."

Generally speaking, if a country does not need the leadership of a political party, then the party loses its *raison d'être*. And in what country--big or small--in today's world does there not exist a "party"? I fear that there is not this kind of vacuum. Looking at the present objective situation, one sees that, for a political party of every country, the purpose of its existence is nothing more than to lead the government in order to rule the country. And the purpose is not just to "make friendly contacts"! In this sense, the "one-party system" and the "multiparty system" are only different in form, not essence. The advantage of many political parties existing in a country is that they can supervise each other, but the drawback is that, in contending for the power to rule, at the least they stage competitions that waste manpower and money and at the most they bring about bloody, sacrificial wars, so the multiparty system is not necessarily better than the one-party system. Of course,



if countries could, like the Chinese communists, control the "parties out of office" so that they are obsequious and docile, then there would not emerge even a few political parties in the world.

Particularly speaking, China at present can only be led by the CPC. Why? This is because there is still no democratic political party or group that possesses the boldness and capacity to lead and that would dare to shoulder this heavy burden. Although the Chinese communists, who have led China for 30 years, have made many mistakes and caused big losses, their achievements cannot be underestimated. How can the changes between present-day China and old China not be universally recognized? "Comment" pursues "two lines of reasoning" in its analysis of the Chinese communists and comes up with "seven estimates," but its conclusions are two interrogative sentences that are not very convincing. Isn't there still the KMT? Doesn't it think about leading China? Of course it does--and that's all it does! If it really wanted to take action, it could not avoid fighting another civil war. So, not to speak of the deaths of several millions of common people, the KMT will also probably die a natural death. Backing up a step, what would really happen if the KMT came to power in China? Could it rule China with the same facility as it does tiny Taiwan? Not Likely!

Based on the aforementioned analysis, I feel the slogan "uphold" the party's leadership is not inappropriate. The reverse side of "uphold" is "abolish." If one day the party's leadership were abolished, what would be the situation in China? Nothing but "great disorder under heaven"! Some say that, after abolishing the party's leadership, it would be a good thing if all authority were vested in the government. This sounds good, but in the world what government's backstage boss is not a "party"? The communist "totalitarian" nations are like this, and aren't the western "democratic" nations also like this, and aren't the western "democratic" nations also like this? Of course, party power is not equivalent to government power, and the separation of party and state is still necessary, but this separation and the abolishment of the party's leadership are two different things.

Speaking in the same vein, isn't there a necessity to inquire into "upholding the party's leadership"? If there is this necessity, then the core of the inquiry should be: how to uphold the party's correct leadership. And the key part of the inquiry should be: how to avoid abuse of party power, which would put the party above everything else and thus make society absolutely lawless; and how to avoid the deterioration of party officers and the corruption of party members, which would shear away the party's prestige and thus adversely affect the efficacy of its leadership.

"Comment" maintains: "For the Chinese communists to play the role of true leaders, the key is to overcome the crisis of confidence," and it proposes seven "prescriptions" to improve the leadership image of the Chinese communists, which I think would be well worthwhile for the Chinese communists to think over carefully.

## V. Half of the Fourth Slogan Can Be Lopped Off

I advocate lopping off half of the slogan "Uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought," leaving only "Uphold Marxism-Leninism." The reason is very simple: the correct parts of Mao Zedong Thought without exception have their source in Marxism-Leninism, and its mistaken parts are mostly "creative developments" of Marxism-Leninism. In order to clarify the source of the original works of Marxism-Leninism, it is best to only uphold Marxism-Leninism.

There has now appeared a crisis of confidence in Marxism-Leninism, and "Comment's" analysis of the five reasons for this crisis is apropos. However, even if Marxism-Leninism is being challenged and is arousing suspicion, this does not prove that its tenets and principles are completely mistaken and that its goals and ideals are absolutely unattainable. To attain its ideals now is one thing; whether they will be attained in the future is another thing. One cannot, because of setbacks and defeats in the course of struggle, lose faith in struggle. If capitalism is not to be affirmed as mankind's finest society, then what society is to be so regarded? First, I say that this is the "communism" created by Marx and Engels and, second, I say that it seems that this "communism" has not yet appeared. However, in the so-called upholding of Marxism and Leninism, only its tenets and principles, its ideals and goals, should be upheld, and every sentence of Marxism-Leninism should not be upheld. Owing to the limitations of history, certain viewpoints of Marx', Engels', and Lenin's have already become obsolete; certain of their theories have a limited existence; and certain of their principles have proven unworkable. This is not strange, and it is precisely "them" that should not be upheld any more.

"Comment" states: "If one says 'uphold Marxism-Leninism, and this is taken to mean that every view of Marxism-Leninism must be upheld, then this is no different than saying: Marxism-Leninism must be blindly upheld. Time, space, conditions, and specific circumstances are to be disregarded, and everything about Marxism-Leninism is to be copied indiscriminately." Naturally, this kind of "upholding" is ridiculously childish, and I'm afraid that a person who would advocate it would be unique. Mankind's knowledge of objective things always goes through a process. Are there people today who still insist that the earth is square? Are there people who still insist that the sun revolves around the earth? The approach to natural phenomena is like this, but the approach to ideology, I fear, is more complicated. There are many tenets and principles in Marxism-Leninism that practice has not yet proved. Therefore, it is inadvisable to prematurely conclude that they are to be affirmed or negated. Even if a certain tenet is mistaken, but people don't yet recognize it as mistaken and so support it, then this would not necessarily be too censurable, and must less censurable would it be to support a tenet that is not yet known by anyone to be mistaken.

With regard to Mao Zedong Thought, this is the product of the Chinese communists' engaging in a big way in the cult of the individual. Thirty years of practice have proved the failure of Mao Zedong Thought. However, the Chinese communists stubbornly protect it by all ways and means, and also take out some correct theories of Mao's and add proofs to them. However, in the first place,

no doubt there are correct theories, but there are also many incorrect things; in the second place, although there are correct theories, Mao Zedong consistently acted in opposition to them, with the result that Mao Zedong's Thought was opposed to Mao Zedong's theories. In the third place, the occurrence of each "manmade catastrophe" was directed by Mao Zedong's theories, and it is hard for them to avoid blame for bringing calamity to the country and the people....What would still upholding such a "Mao Zedong Thought" do?

Finally, two sentences: "Comment's" viewpoints have a lot of originality, and for people inquiring into the "four upholds," it may after all be accepted as an article extremely worthy of reference. Although I do not agree with certain of its viewpoints, I respect its boldness and bluntness, its courageous spirit of probing; I hope my article's meager views will be able to draw pertinent criticism and comment.

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CSO: 4005/641

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